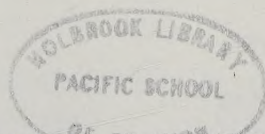


QUAKER HISTORY

The Bulletin of Friends Historical Association

VOLUME 45-46
1956-57

*Index v. 41-45
1952-56*



FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Publication Office:

Haverford College Library
Haverford, Pennsylvania

V. 45-46
1956-57

98889

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The BULLETIN of Friends Historical Association

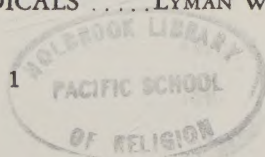
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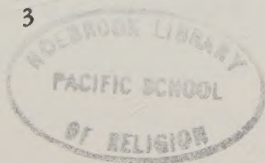
A QUAKER TERCENTENARY FOR AMERICA?

By HENRY J. CADBURY

The recent celebration of three hundred years of Quakerism in the North of England and then in Ireland raises the question: How about America? Should a similar epoch be noted on the opposite side of the Atlantic, and if so, when and where and how?

American Friends, so far as I know, are giving this question no serious thought, and with better reason than they realize. To answer the questions would be very difficult, and the answers would be even more arbitrary than in better recorded and more highly centralized areas of Quaker beginnings. When, in 1676 and later, London Yearly Meeting circulated questionnaires to the counties asking for data about the First Publishers of Truth, they did not go beyond England and Wales. George Fox himself has left us in his original Journal an annual record of Friends traveling in the ministry both in England and to "other nations," in the years 1655, 1656, etc., and in another memorandum I think he mentions a Quaker mission to Newfoundland as early as 1652. We know that Mary Fisher and Ann Austin were in Barbados in 1655 and the next year they began "the Quaker invasion of Massachusetts."

But, as Irish Friends have reminded us, propaganda by visitors is not the only way to date our local beginnings. The presence of a resident Friend is equally worth noting, or the beginning of a set-



tled meeting. These did not always follow from the transient efforts of visitors. In fact I believe that in the history of early American Quakerism the colonists who as residents bore the brunt of persecution continuously have been unduly overshadowed by the valiant transatlantic missionaries of whom we have more record. Certainly the four martyrs on Boston Common in 1659 to 1661 have a unique place in history and if the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church they set the date of the church's planting. In any case some three years from now their memory will presumably be revived in suitable manner in America by Friends and perhaps as well by the descendants of the Puritans. Mary Dyer and her fellow sufferers are widely recognized in the story of the struggle for religious liberty. But other and earlier sufferings of Friends in various colonies are also on record.

I have discussed elsewhere the discordant dating of Quaker beginnings in Great Britain.¹ Many of the records lack the kind of chronological care that would make us trust them, especially those from non-Friends. There are references too early to Friends that are due to mere inattentive anachronism. The same is true on the American side, and I may recall, to begin with, the unconfirmed statement in the Clarendon Manuscripts which, apparently in 1647, three years before Fox was called a Quaker by Justice Bennett, speaks of "a set of women come from beyond seas, called Quakers." These women are usually supposed to have come from the Continent of Europe, but the term might apply as well to America. Cotton Mather, the learned Massachusetts church historian, contradicting a Quaker statement of origin in the North of England in 1652, says, fifty years later: "I can tell the world that the first Quakers that ever were in the world were certain fanatics here in our town of Salem who held almost all fancies and whimsies which a few years after were broached by them that were so called in England, with whom yet none of ours had the least communication. Our Salem Quakers indeed of themselves died childless."²

¹ *Friends Quarterly*, VII (1953), 112 ff.

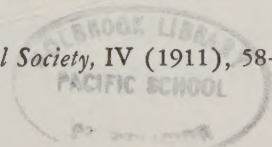
² *Magnalia Christi Americana*, Book VII. But in Book III he says the first breaking out of Quakerism was at Kirby Steven in Westmorland, England.

From lack of full Quaker record the most that we can report is not the actual beginnings but the first known instance of anything that can be called Quaker activity. Rufus Jones believed the first American Quaker was one Richard Smith of Southampton, Long Island, who became a Friend while visiting in England perhaps in 1654.³ The oldest regular meeting for discipline in America is traditionally considered to have been Sandwich Monthly Meeting on Cape Cod, set up in 1657. Regular meetings for worship may well have begun earlier. The year 1661 is the date which New England Yearly Meeting claims as its founding. It was a General Meeting held in Rhode Island (but there are indications of such a meeting being held a year or two earlier). I think no regional religious assembly of any denomination in America has a continuous history going back any further than this one. The oldest extant minute of any Friends Meeting for business has been claimed to be one for the 23rd of Third Month, 1671, from Long Island, authorizing meetings at Oyster Bay, Matinecock, and Westbury. What is said to be the oldest wooden place of worship extant in America is the Friends meetinghouse at Third Haven, Maryland, built in 1682 to 1684. Stone churches or meetinghouses may exist of earlier date and older wooden ones almost certainly once existed. I do not personally vouch for each of these "firsts" nor should I be surprised if local pride or further discovery would challenge them.

Such events as these may well receive local attention in coming years, as they have received bicentennial, sesquicentennial, and other recognition at appropriate intervals in the past. If, however, historical notice is to be given to Quaker beginnings in America, I believe it may profitably deal with more general and less arbitrary matters. There are many such questions which have perhaps more illumination to offer on our past. They have also more relevance to our present and future. Assuming that a backward look is justified at all, I would suggest tercentenary questions of a different sort from those of date and place and event.

What distinctive characteristics did the special circumstances of American settlement bring to the movement on this side of the

³ *Bulletin of Friends Historical Society*, IV (1911), 58-59.



Atlantic? There was inevitably less unity in the British colonies than in the homeland. There was less communication. Much contact was by way of England rather than from colony to colony. Much was by itinerant ministers. Little was by a single central meeting, though apparently at Penn's visit to America in 1699 an All-American Quaker gathering at least for the mainland settlements was proposed.

What effect did removal from ancestral roots have on the American settlers who became Friends or who migrated to America when already members of the Society? Like others than Friends, many came for secular or for religious reasons to better their situation. Had this selective principle an influence upon this and later generations of Quakerism? And what were its good and its evil features? Were the settlers the cream or the dregs of British, Scotch, and Irish Quakerism, and did they remain on this side at the same level as the one they had left?

Frontier life had its peculiar differences, its temptations, and opportunities, and naturally one asks how these affected Friends. Did the later divisive tendencies in American Quakerism go back to the independence of their ancestors, to their instability, to their lack of cohesiveness, or to the discontinuity of their emigrant experience? Did it have less culture and even less perspective than if it had remained stationary?

These problems and others which at once suggest themselves are not peculiar to Quaker history here. They are parallel to political and cultural history in general and to the epic story of religion in America. They are not easily answered but they have been diligently studied by others in their parallel forms, and the likenesses and differences of Quaker experience compared with other experiences in America, and with the experiences of Friends in other countries, deserve such thought as competent historians can give. Too much is Quaker history studied in isolation and without the instruction which comparative study can supply. I believe a tercentenary mood can more easily avoid ancestor worship and pure antiquarianism if it attempts these more difficult tasks.

Quakerism not only received from its environment; it also gave. In six of the seaboard colonies Quakerism was for a time

politically dominant. What was its influence? How far did its attempts to base life on the New Testament succeed, as compared with the Puritan efforts to establish an Old Testament theocracy in the American wilderness? Truly for many years to come anniversaries of minor events may usefully be transformed into inquiries of larger scope.



"A RILL STRUCK OUT FROM THE ROCK": MARY ROTCH OF NEW BEDFORD

By MURRAY GARDNER HILL *

"The leading Quaker of New Bedford fifty years ago," wrote Moncure Daniel Conway in 1882, "was Miss Mary Rotch, whose friendship was precious to Emerson, and she must be included among the women whose influence largely moulded his life. She was Margaret Fuller's friend also. . . . She was a woman of culture, quiet humor, and sympathetic voice. Emerson loved to quote the words of Miss Rotch whenever conversation threatened to become theological."¹

Biographers of Emerson and Margaret Fuller have often referred to the influence of Mary Rotch, but little has been written about the woman herself. Dr. Orville Dewey, in his *Autobiography*, wrote enthusiastically of her as a member of his congregation in New Bedford.² Emerson, in writing of Margaret Fuller, said, "She [Margaret Fuller] found a valuable friend in the late Miss Mary Rotch, of New Bedford, a woman of great strength of mind, connected with the Quakers not less by temperament than by birth, and possessing the best lights of that once spiritual sect."³ Margaret Fuller herself wrote in 1842, "I take great pleasure in talking with Aunt Mary. Her strong and simple nature checks not, falters not. . . . No rapture, no subtle process, no slow fermentation in the unknown depths, but a rill struck out from the rock, clear and cool in all its course, the still small voice."⁴

It is unfortunate that so little is known about this dynamic woman. She apparently left no journal. Few of her letters have

* Formerly a member of the faculty of Pasadena City College, Murray Gardner Hill now lives in Laguna Beach, California.

¹ Moncure Daniel Conway, *Emerson at Home and Abroad* (Boston, 1882), p. 86.

² *Autobiography and Letters of Orville Dewey, D.D.*, ed. Mary E. Dewey (Boston, 1883), pp. 67-68.

³ R. W. Emerson, W. H. Channing, and J. F. Clarke, eds., *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli* (Boston, 1852), I, 320.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 63.

been preserved, but from those few and from a manuscript account of a Quaker dissension in which Mary Rotch was one of the principals a picture emerges—not of physical characteristics, but of a woman intellectual, kind, energetic, with indomitable courage and faith.⁵

Mary Rotch was born in Nantucket, Massachusetts, on October 19, 1777. She was the second daughter of William and Elizabeth Barney Rotch. Her elder sister Elizabeth, who was destined to play a tragic role with Mary, was born in 1757. One of their maternal grandmothers was Mary Starbuck, a leading Quaker on the island of Nantucket at the beginning of the century.

William Rotch was one of the most prosperous men engaged in the whaling industry. He had great strength of character, holding steadfastly to his principles of obedience to Divine Guidance. During the years of the Revolutionary War, he stood firmly for neutrality for Nantucket. When starvation threatened the islanders, and a storm of protest broke against him, he remained unmoved. Although greatly distressed, he held fast to the doctrine of "active obedience and passive suffering." This severe trial Mary probably often heard retold in later years. He so thoroughly instilled in her child-mind the precepts that guided his life that she unconsciously made them her own; and when years of trial for her approached, she found strength in the steadfastness of his belief.

At the end of the war, when England, the largest market for sperm oil, imposed an alien duty, William Rotch, with other islanders, was forced to make a change in order to escape com-

⁵ For assistance in this study I am grateful to the Reverend Alfred Rodman Hussey of Plymouth, Massachusetts, who graciously permitted me to examine the manuscript record of the "trial" of Elizabeth Rodman and Mary Rotch and letters written by Mary Rotch to her sister Elizabeth Rodman and her niece Sarah Rodman; to Miss Julia W. Rodman of New Bedford, who sent me copies of Mary Rotch's letters to her nephew Samuel Rodman; to the late Miss Hannah Newhall of Lynn, who sent a copy of the minutes of the women's sessions of Salem Monthly Meeting; to the Harvard University Library, which provided photostatic copies of Margaret Fuller letters; and to Mr. Francis Rotch of Bellevue, Washington, Mr. John M. Bullard of New Bedford, and Mr. William M. Emery of Fairhaven, Massachusetts, who put useful printed materials at my disposal.

plete loss of everything. He eventually found France to be favorable to the establishment of his business in that country. In 1790 of thirty-eight days. They remained in France for nearly three years—years of turmoil and bloodshed. Louis XVI fled, the Constitution of 1791 was established, trouble with Austria and Prussia threatened. The Commune and Robespierre came into power. An insurrection took place in Dunkirk. The king was guillotined. During these trying times, the Rotch family were permitted to live in peace, but no doubt the uncertainty and bloodshed made a deep impression on the youthful Mary. When war between France and England threatened, William, realizing the possibility of losing his vessels, went with his family to England, where they remained over a year. In the latter part of 1794, the family left London, arriving in Boston after a voyage of sixty-one days. In 1795 they moved to New Bedford.

Mary Rotch was now eighteen years old. Most unusual had been her background. The long sea voyage to France, the weeks and months of uncertainty during the political disturbances there, the residence in England, the long journey home, became part of her life. And woven in and through it all had been the principle of "active obedience and passive suffering." For the next few years we are to see her living in the quiet seclusion of her father's home—the Mansion House—but not in idleness. The past years had been too full of excitement and activity for her to settle down and live an inactive life. It was to be "active obedience." Her brothers and sisters married and established homes of their own, leaving her to care for her aging father and mother. Her sister Elizabeth married Samuel Rodman and lived in New Bedford. Her brother William also lived not far away. With the management of the household, she found time for reading, for attendance at lectures, for writing. Deprived of children of her own, she gave of her affection to her nephews and nieces. Several of her surviving letters are to her nephew, Samuel Rodman, who was attending New Garden School, and to her niece, Sarah Rodman, in Philadelphia.

The first glimpse we have of Mary Rotch is in a letter to her sister, Elizabeth Rodman, who was apparently visiting in Philadelphia.

New Bedford 5th mo 4th 1803

I am seated alone in the corner usually occupied by thy dear self and with Virgil for my table, and a chair to hold my inkstand. . . . Thou knows I like to meet with *intellect* and had much rather my "understanding should be stretching than stooping." I am reading at intervals (w^{ch} a disposition like mine often finds in the midst of necessary occupations), Locke's short treatise "on the conduct of the understanding"⁶ w^{ch} being less abstruse than some of his writings, I find more easily comprehended, and with now and then exchanging sentiments with my brother & receiving his illustrations, I may possibly gain something from it. We have also looked into Lavater⁷ for a few days past, but are not inclined to adopt any established rules of Physiognomy, believing as some author has asserted that "among the polite it is a most lying science." . . .

I go home daily to say my French lessons w^{ch} gives sufficient opportunity, with intermission on 1st day to observe their movements. Two bedquilts are completed, and a third now in the frame. Mother is in her element to drive on at such a rate without me to oppose her. No regret is felt or expressed for my absence. How clever it is to be so convenient a piece of furniture, that my presence can be borne with tolerable ease, and my absence give no uneasiness. . . .

In August, 1809, Mary wrote to her nephew, Samuel Rodman⁸: "Thou has probably been informed of the arrival of our Uncle Francis Rotch⁹, in New York. . . . We anticipate with satisfaction the moment when we may welcome this long-absent relative to his native country. . . . He is about 59, sixteen years younger than thy grandfather." The coming of this long-absent uncle into the quiet Rotch home was a stimulant to Mary's active mind. She later wrote to her nephew of his arrival in New Bedford, and of the pleasant hours that were being spent with him:

Thou seems to have sympathies with us on the subjects of our guests at the time my dear Uncle F. Rotch was expected. Very fortunately Cousin

⁶ John Locke, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690).

⁷ Johann Kasper Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy*. "In that famous work of his, Lavater not only treats of the various kinds of man, but also attentively studies the faces of horses, birds, serpents, and fish; and dwells in detail upon the modifications of expression therein." Herman Melville, *Moby Dick* (World Classics, Oxford, 1921), p. 412.

⁸ Son of Elizabeth Rotch and Samuel Rodman (born 1792).

⁹ A younger brother of William Rotch, Sr., who had left Friends but had joined no other religious society, having said in Mary's hearing that he "neither sought nor expected to find a better one." He had lived in France for many years.

—took it into her head suddenly to depart, and I arose at four in the morning to accommodate her wise resolution, and bid her a cordial farewell. On the afternoon of the same day he arrived, and continued our very interesting inmate. . . . He devotes much time to reading aloud which is to us a very agreeable way for passing the hours. Uncle is also very fond of walking and whenever the weather is suitable, I generally accompany him in a long morning ramble. 4 miles is a distance not unusual for us.

On the ninth of November, 1810, Mary wrote again to her nephew:

Uncle F. R. continues to devote the evenings to reading the Life of Fenelon¹⁰ translated by Butler; memoirs of Elizabeth Smith¹¹; Espriella's Letters,¹² and Stillman's Travels have been our amusing and instructive companions since thy departure. . . . We are now reading the life of Cumberland,¹³ written by himself. . . .

Of one of the guests in the Rotch home at this time, Mary wrote to her nephew on the twelfth of March, 1811: "Professor Brownell¹⁴ of Schenectady College dined with us lately, who spent the last year in Europe. He speaks in high terms of the City of Edinburgh as the greatest resort of literary characters in proportion to its extent anywhere known. He was intimately acquainted with Walter Scott and other persons eminent for their literature and science."

During the years of 1812 and 1813, a group of friends met monthly to read contributions each had written for the occasion. These contributions were written anonymously, and dropped into a box, called The Budget Box. The papers were then read aloud to the group. Mary was particularly active in this project. In the midst of managing the household, entertaining guests, attending

¹⁰ Francois de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon (1651-1717), Archbishop of Cambrai, French theologian and author, a defender of Quietism.

¹¹ Probably Henrietta Maria Bowdler's life of Elizabeth Smith, the remarkable bluestocking, known for her linguistic ability and her Hebrew studies.

¹² Robert Southey, *The Letters of Espriella* (1807), a book of light character, supposedly written from England by a young Spaniard at the beginning of the nineteenth century, giving a good picture of the times.

¹³ Richard Cumberland (1722-1811), English dramatist. His *Memoirs* were published in 1807.

¹⁴ Thomas Church Brownell (1779-1865), Professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy at what is now Union College, later to be Bishop of Connecticut and first President of Trinity College.

lectures, and reading, she found time to copy carefully a series of six of her contributions and send one monthly to her niece, Sarah Rodman. Each composition was from twelve to fifteen hundred words in length. Sarah had requested from her aunt a description of a "female character" she would consider most worthy of imitation. Mary's "wish to comply with it . . . led . . . into *five long dissertations* on Simplicity, Cheerfulness, Self-Control, Self-Examination, and Progressive Piety!"¹⁵ She conceived the clever plan of writing to a young lady named Sophia, purporting to relay the conversation she had had with an old lady whose home was on the "Banks of the Ohio." The themes of the compositions she made applicable to herself as well as to her niece. Each revealed the stability of thought and action that Mary had achieved at the age of thirty-five.

She ended the composition on "Simplicity" with the words: "If I were asked which of all qualities that constitute an amiable character would go farthest in gaining my love and admiration, I should answer, without hesitation, *Simplicity*." In the accompanying letter, she wrote:

When I devised the foregoing it was at a late moment & amidst many interruptions.— & — & their br^o & sister from Greenwich spent the day with us yesterday *from 12 o'clock* (tho' invited at one). I talked with them & made myself as agreeable as possible in the parlor a while & then would run out & write a while & these employments alternately occupied me until 7 in the evening when br^o W[illiam] R[otch] came for me & found me scribbling with all my might to finish my piece. . . .

Father is looking into the fire and planning a journey to Salem as he has business in Boston. I have some thoughts of stopping there with him tho' we cannot spend more than a week, on acc^t of lectures & cannot go until after election on 5th day. . . . If this plan should succeed I can tell thee who will constitute the carriage party—father, self, a keg of currant wine, six pewter plates marked E B and a pair of blankets w^{ch} mother is making in her corner. . . . Thy grandfather says he should like to visit Phil^a again, but wife immediately throws "cold water" by saying he is too old while her needle flies faster & faster to make the blanket.¹⁶

Mary's main theme in "Cheerfulness" was: "There is nothing perhaps which more conduces to our happiness than a cheerful temper. . . . How wide the difference between that disposition

¹⁵ Letter to Sarah Rodman, March 3, 1813.

¹⁶ November 10, 1812.

which makes the most of life's enjoyments and that which aggravates its evils. . . . Indeed it is from slight inconveniences that we often hear the most tedious complaints." In the letter that accompanied "Cheerfulness," she indulges in a bit of repartee:

Among these pieces considered good I don't rank the following but I will send it to thee notwithstanding—thou must know that one of the pieces in the budget before this, began thus "When a man is going down hill everyone is ready to give him a push"—& this piece was complaining of our good old friend Ezekial—it was a droll thing & written by a person who was not *serious* in speaking ill of him . . . but I thought the motto would do to make a piece of . . .

Ezekial going down hill

What wild mistakes by erring mortals made
Defy alike the precepts of the sage
And the optician's skill to set them right.
Some sieze the reigns of empire who were form'd
To feed a lady's lap dog — and some attempt
To teach mankind what they have never learned.
Others there are in modern warfare led
Who in a log house see a mighty host
Boldly rush on, & sieze a rusty gun!
Some choose a scarlet cloth & call it drab
Some in a sunflower see a nodding ghost
And some a robber in a harmless pump.
But most of all does that poor *purblind wight*
My pity claim who fancies he beholds
Ezekial going down the hill & who
Puts forth a hand to push him on his way.¹⁷

"Self-Control" is the theme of the December contribution:

Nature seems to have adjusted her mental combinations in *some* so nicely, that they preserve that equanimity which is one of the most desirable traits of the human character, rendering them happy in themselves, and conducing to the happiness of others. When this is not the case, and the judgment not yet matured, it would be fortunate if Self-Control could act as a kind of Sentinel, which tho' it might do little toward the advancement of virtue, would be of great utility in preventing the consequences of precipitate feeling, opinion, and conduct.

The accompanying letter again recounts the daily activities of the busy aunt who could find time to write regularly to her nineteen-year-old niece: "Attending Chymical lectures w^{ch} must be accompanied with readings, Chymistry, writing for the Budget &

¹⁷ December 1812.

my relative and social duties or pleasures & lastly domestic cares so fully occupy me during these short days that I can do no more than barely accomplish them. If I have any time for reading except Chymistry I am obliged to rise before daylight. This we do sometimes when the weather is moderate & run down into the dining room. Scott makes a fire & we read till near breakfast time."¹⁸

In the same month, Mary wrote an extra letter from the "lady in Ohio," and sent it to Sarah directly, not through the Budget Box. In her personal letter, she explains: "I have in the above epistle stepped for a moment into the place of the venerable Lady where she was remonstrated with on the subject of reserve, w^{ch} was actually the case with myself & it was of great use to me. My powers of conversation have been called for in days of yore when tho' I had been in Europe & much was expected from me f^m my supposed advantages, had I in those days had *thy* resources my tongue would have been willing to run f^m morning till night."

In February "Self-Examination" was dropped into the Budget Box, and a copy sent to Sarah.

That divine principle in the heart of man, the emanation from the Deity, that blessed power of conviction which follows error with the swift-ness of light, and which may have been disregarded in the agitations of the day, will on a cool and silent appeal, clearly exhibit all our actions in their just point of view, exciting us to deep self-abasement, contrition of heart, and intercession for assistance—the amendment of life. By carefully attending to its operations on the mind, we shall cultivate that reverence for its influence, which will incline us to make it our constant refuge. We shall regard it as our sweet friend, as the medium of that access to the father of spirits which the well regulated and redeemed mind is permitted to enjoy even in this state of existence, and as the best and only enlightener of the understanding on those sublime truths which human reason cannot comprehend.

A new project was added to Mary's busy life, an account of which she wrote to Sarah:

At present I am particularly engaged every moment of my time. The girls have probably told thee we have formed a "fragment society" for making clothes for the poor. — and myself are the visiting committee for the present month & we all meet once a week . . . & sew f^m one in the afternoon till 10 in the evening. . . . We have entered the abodes of the miserable whenever the weather would admit of it for the last week, &

¹⁸ January 6, 1813.

tho' a laborious task . . . I do not regret my office. It is an instructive one to me, and on contrasting my own situation with that of many whose necessities we are enquiring into reflections of a solemnly interesting nature are often excited . . . I am sometimes led to enquire, wherein have I meritted a better allotment? Why am I surrounded with every temporal blessing & these my fellow beings strangers to the common comforts of life? Perhaps they are now far more deserving than I am, & had they been placed in my situation would have lived a life of far greater usefulness & acceptance in the Divine Light. . . .

We meet to read Stewart's philosophy of the human mind¹⁹ as was proposed and find it very acceptable. Next 3rd day evening we shall assemble for that purpose at my brother William's,—so that with lectures, budget, reading, Fragment society & all, our time is pretty well occupied.²⁰

"Progressive Piety" is a summary of Mary Rotch's belief in the continuous growth of the soul in this life and in the hereafter.

The venerable friend told me that *our piety unlike all other attainments was never stationary*. I cannot forget the impression which this made on my heart. . . . The conviction that while we are irresistibly borne on the current of time, our piety must be either progressive or receding . . . presents a most exalted idea of the soul of Man. In all other attainments we rest secure, because we retain the vigour of our faculties. But the impossibility of remaining stationary in our most important acquisitions, contrasted with this security in the knowledge of earthly things, so far from having a discouraging tendency on the mind of the Christian, must produce a directly opposite effect.

It could not be further from any mortal than myself to approve that piety would clothe its votary in gloom, which would repress the vivacity of youth, or refuse to admire the wit and cheerfulness of the social scene. Perhaps there is no one who takes more delight in beholding the gaiety of that season of life, when the spirits are animated and the imagination warm, if it associates that charming sensibility which can welcome a sacred theme with a discrimination inseparable from principles of early religion received in the heart. . . .

In such a mind, all its capacities will be sanctified with double lustre. Peace and serenity will work its pathway thro' this life, even if clouds of adversity should obscure some of its brightest earthly prospects. And tho' it be of little use to indulge in speculative ideas on a future state of existence, . . . may we not safely conclude, that as this vital principle can never be at rest while invested with its tenement of clay, it will progress through eternity in continually nearer approaches toward the inconceivable perfection?

¹⁹ Dugald Stewart, *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind* (1792-1827).

²⁰ February 14, 1813.

In her letter to Sarah, Mary wrote of meeting a celebrity:

Last week the celebrated Washington Erving [sic] author of *Salmagundi* spent a night in town, & having a letter of introduction to b^r W R Jun^r was immediately invited to his house. They did me the honor to inform that if I had any curiosity to see him I should be welcome to join the party at tea. I accordingly hied thither with a quick step & and was much gratified to be in company with a man of genius and literature. He seemed retiring at first but became very sociable & I thought his conversation interesting as well as informing. His language is good & his countenance very expressive tho' not particularly handsome. . . . Erving took an interest in our Fragment society . . . & I was pleased with his remarks.²¹

The next glimpse we have of Mary Rotch is in 1823 when she and her sister Elizabeth Rodman became the central figures in a tragic schism among the Friends of New Bedford Meeting, and in which Mary stood staunchly by her convictions. A year previously Mary Newhall of Lynn, Massachusetts had been disowned by the Salem Monthly Meeting for being "unsound in her principles of our profession."²² On the tenth of February, Mary Newhall visited New Bedford Meeting. She may have visited there before, but on this date dissension became apparent. She spoke of "the Mosaic dispensation, in which the performance of certain rituals constituted the required religion—the more spiritual dispensation of our Saviour . . . and the yet more inward & spiritual dispensation of the present day. These dispensations she compared to the progressive stages of the human heart in the work of religion, from loving our neighbor as ourselves, to loving our enemies, & lastly arriving at that state of humility when self would be totally abandoned, & we could only say 'Be merciful to me a sinner.'"²³ There was some dissension. That afternoon she preached another sermon. Then she offered prayer. About half of the Meeting remained seated, indicating their disapproval, while the other half stood during the prayer, denoting sympathy.

On the following Tuesday evening she had an appointed

²¹ March 16, 1813.

²² Minutes of Women's Sessions of Salem Monthly Meeting of Friends in Lynn, Massachusetts (copy).

²³ From the manuscript record of the "trial" of Elizabeth Rodman and Mary Rotch in New Bedford Meeting to remove them from the seat of Elders. All references to the trial are taken from this record.

meeting at the old Congregational church, which was crowded to overflowing. Mary Rotch and her sister Elizabeth sat in the pulpit with her.

Dissension grew. Late in the year, a complaint was read in the women's meeting: "Elizabeth Rodman and Mary Rotch having so far given their support to certain persons who were disowned by friends as to attend meetings appointed by them, and to manifest their unity in joining with them in vocal prayer, and having labored from time to time in order to convince them of the inconsistency of their conduct herein, without the desired effect—we are therefore led to believe that they are not qualified in their present state of mind to fill the station of Elders." Previously Mary had said, "As regards my own case . . . if the extending of my arm would alter the least point, I could not, I would not do it."

The discussion was carried over into the next year. When the March Monthly Meeting opened, tension was high, for all members recognized that some disposition would have to be made of the complaint. At the close of the meeting for worship on that date, Mary Rotch "spoke of the state of the true Christian as one that suffered all things meekly. She recommended that spirit of meekness and humility which could feel no offense and offer no resistance. She exhorted those who had been honestly and innocently concerned in testifying against evil, to come into that state of meekness which could resist no longer, adding, 'If this state be offered you, pass it not by.' To those who still felt themselves honestly concerned to testify against evil, she recommended faithfulness to their convictions."

The case was then referred to the Quarterly Meeting of April 1824. After heated arguments, the clerk of the Meeting read his minute of unity. And so the complete break was effected.

On the following Sunday, Mary Newhall was again in New Bedford, on her way to Philadelphia. Two days later, she and Mary Rotch journeyed to Philadelphia. They attended all the meetings in that city—some of them two or three times—and several in the neighboring towns. The two women returned to New Bedford in May.

In June a complaint was presented to the meeting against Mary Rotch "for having given encouragement to certain disorderly

persons, and having, professedly from a sense of duty, accompanied on a religious visit to Philadelphia a person disowned from the Society." In August 1824, Mary Rotch was disowned.

She soon united with the Congregational Church (later Unitarian) of which Dr. Orville Dewey was the minister. In his *Autobiography*, Dr. Dewey wrote at some length of the members of his church, several of whom, including Mary Rotch, had been disowned by the Friends Meeting.

Miss Mary Rotch is one called 'Aunt Mary,' from mingled veneration and affection. It might seem a liberty to call her so; but it was not, in her case. She had so much dignity and strength in her character and bearing that it was impossible for anyone to speak of her lightly. On our going to New Bedford, she immediately called upon us, and when she went out I could not help exclaiming, "Wife, were ever hearts taken by storm like that!" *Storm*, the word would be, according to the usage of the phrase; but it was the very contrary,—a perfect simplicity and kindliness. . . . Her religious opinions were of the most catholic stamp, and in one respect they were peculiar. The Friends' idea of the "inward light" seemed to have become with her coincident with the Author of all Light; and when speaking of the Supreme Being, she would never say "God," but "that Influence." That Influence was constantly with her; and she carried the idea so far as to believe it prompted her daily action, and decided for her every question of duty.²⁴

In November 1827, Ralph Waldo Emerson preached three Sundays in the Unitarian Church of New Bedford, during a leave of absence of Dr. Dewey. Later, he preached on thirteen different Sundays between November 1833 and March 1834.²⁵ No doubt he had talked with Mary Rotch on the first of these visits, but it is only during the later visits that he made any mention of her in his *Journals*.

Pleasantly mingled with my sad thoughts the sublime religion of Miss Rotch yesterday. She was much disciplined, she said, in the years of Quaker dissension, and driven inward, driven home, to find an anchor, until she learned to have *no choice*, to acquiesce without understanding the reason when she found an obstruction to any course of acting. She objected to having this spiritual direction called an impression, or an intuition, or an oracle. It was none of them. It was so simple it could hardly be spoken of. It was long, long before she could attain to anything satis-

²⁴ *Autobiography and Letters of Orville Dewey, D.D.*, pp. 67-68.

²⁵ *Young Emerson Speaks*, ed. Arthur Cushman McGiffert, Jr. (Boston, 1938), p. 255n.

factory. She was in a state of great dreariness, but she had a friend, a woman, now deceased, who used to advise her to dwell patiently with this dreariness and absence, in the confidence that it was necessary to the sweeping away of all her dependence upon traditions, and that she would finally attain to something better. And when she attained a better state of mind its beginnings were very, very small. And now it is not anything to speak of.²⁶

In March of the same year, Emerson noted: "I have been much interested lately in the MS Record of the debates in the Quarterly Meetings in 1823, when Elizabeth Rodman and Mary Rotch were proposed to be removed from the place of Elders. . . . I must quote a sentence or two of these speakers. . . ."²⁷

In later years, Emerson often mentioned the great respect he had for Mary Rotch. In a letter to Elizabeth Hoar he wrote: "I heartily wish to show you who have not seen Miss Rotch, this woman who reads the Book of Esdras (nothing else now) and quotes Isaiah & Ezekiel in quite a new light. . . . I must see her again."²⁸

On March 28, 1847, Emerson wrote to Mary Rotch:

It was a great pleasure to hear from you, if only by a question in philosophy. And the terrors of treading that difficult and quaking ground shall not hinder me from writing to you. . . . I never willingly say anything concerning "God" in cold blood. . . . In conversation sometimes, or to humility and temperance, the cloud will break away to show at least the direction of the rays of Absolute Being, and we see the truth that lies in every affirmation men have made concerning it, and, at the same time, the cramping partiality of their speech. For the science of God our language is unexpressive. . . .

I should very heartily—shall I say *tremulously*—think and speak with you on our experiences or gleams of what is so grand and absorbing; and I never forget the statements, so interesting to me, you gave me many years ago of your faith and that of your friends. Are we not wonderful creatures to whom such entertainments and passions and hopes are afforded?²⁹

²⁶ *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes (Boston, 1910), III, 258-59. Entry for February 12, 1834.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 265-66. Entry for March 21, 1834.

²⁸ *Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Ralph L. Rusk (New York, 1939), III, 25. Letter dated March 7, 1842.

²⁹ James Elliot Cabot, *A Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston, 1887), II, 498-500. For verification of Mary Rotch as addressee, see *Letters of R. W. E.*, III, 338.

In 1820, Benjamin Rotch, son of William, Sr., arrived in New Bedford from England for a visit with his father and mother and sister Mary. He was accompanied by his daughter, Eliza. After two years, he returned to England, but Eliza remained. Shortly after the death of her grandfather in 1828, she married John Farrar, Professor of Astronomy at Harvard. She was a woman "of uncommon character and cultivation . . . and who, with no children of her own, did many good services for the children of her friends."⁸⁰ One of the girls she met was Margaret Fuller. "She readily saw the remarkable intellect of Margaret . . . and also perceived the defects in her training. She undertook to mould her externally, to make her less abrupt, less self-asserting, more *comme il faut* in ideas, manners, and even costume. . . . She had her constantly at her own house . . . took her on journeys."

It was through this course of training that Mary Rotch became acquainted with Margaret—an acquaintanceship that ripened into warmest friendship and continued to the end of her life. In Margaret's letters we catch glimpses of Mary Rotch's health, her thoughtfulness for others, her continued interest in the affairs of the day, her steadfast faith, her serenity. In a letter to Emerson from New Bedford, where she was a guest at Mary's home, she wrote:

It does not agree with my humor just now to be going about and seeing so many people, & I don't thrive under it. It is not Aunt Mary's fault, that I do not exactly as I please, for she is a nonpareil of a hostess in her combination of quiet, courteous attention to the comfort of her guest, with the desire to be let alone, whenever it is best. . . . I have had good talks with Aunt Mary. Her range of experiences is not familiar to me, but where we meet we talk truly. She says, though, that in comparing her life with others, she finds the guide of hers has been a restraining not an impelling power. She has known peace and assurance but not energy, not rapture. She is unacquainted with the passions and with genius. She is strong and simple, a vestal mind, transmitting the oracle in purity, but not the parent of new born angels. . . .

I like Aunt Mary's dry humor.⁸¹

On February 5, 1843, Margaret wrote to Mary Rotch: "Mr. Emerson is absent on a lecturing tour to Phila., Baltimore & N. Y.

⁸⁰ Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Margaret Fuller Ossoli* (Boston, 1884), pp. 35-36.

⁸¹ *Letters of R. W. E.*, III, 72-73.

... He has seen Lucretia Mott and is pleased with her."³² Of this visit with Lucretia Mott, Emerson wrote to Elizabeth Hoar: "This morning I have visited Lucretia Mott, who has just returned from Washington. . . . She too is a cousin of Mary Rotch. Mary Rotch's father must have been Father Abraham himself, for every Quaker body is her cousin. . . . She blames Mary Rotch for not letting her light shine,—not the vice of Americans generally."³³

In letters written from time to time during the years 1843-1846, Margaret expressed concern for Mary's health, and appreciation for gifts received.

I have hoped, from time to time, dear Aunt Mary, that I should receive a few lines apprizing me how you were this summer, but a letter from Mrs. F [arrar] lately comes to me, that you are not better, but, at least while at Saratoga, not worse. . . . However it is good to think that your composure is always such that disease can only do its legitimate work, and not mine two ways, the body with its pains, and the body through the mind with thoughts, and fears of pain.³⁴

In 1846, Margaret went to Europe. From Rome she wrote:

I wrote to you last Spring from Rome and have been hoping for some time to receive some lines addressed in that clear firm hand which always used to come to me in my embroiled fatiguing life like a benediction from some distant shore, looking calm and bright in the radiance of sunset. Not that your sun is set, but it rests now upon the mountains, and all things about you have that look of breadth and calmness.

It may be long before we meet again, but I depend on your thinking and loving me.³⁵

The last letter from Margaret Fuller to Mary Rotch was written from Tivoli:

Just before entering Rome I had the luck to get your letter of March 29th. It made me laugh much to see the desperate measures you were obliged to take in copying my marks for the address. . . .

I was glad to get some exact news of your health. I cannot help being very anxious about it sometimes. You and Mother are the only two of my home possessions that seem to me held by a frail tenure, and when I plan to stay away, I feel always desirous to know that you are both as well as when I left. . . . Do write now and then, once in four or five months at least, only not such a letter as to hurt or fatigue yourself. . . .

³² Letters of Margaret Fuller to Mary Rotch, Harvard University Library.

³³ *Letters of R. W. E.*, III, 131. Letter dated January 31, 1843.

³⁴ Letter dated August 4, 1843.

³⁵ Letter dated October 22, 1847.

Goodbye, dear Aunt Mary, if I live, you will always hear from me now and then.³⁶

Mary Rotch died on September 4, 1848. Although the last years of her life apparently were spent in semi-invalidism, her spirit of determination was as steadfast as ever. Her intense devotion to her own convictions, her refusal to be turned from the true course by any of the veering winds of opinion, her persistent pursuit of the intellectual, and above all her belief in the infallible Light Within, remained with her to the end. The words of praise and devotion written by two of her greatest admirers, Ralph Waldo Emerson and Margaret Fuller, express only partially the nobility of her character. "A woman of great strength of mind." "Her strong and simple nature checks not, falters not. . . . No rapture, no subtle process, no slow fermentation in the unknown depths, but a rill struck out from the rock, clear and cool in all its course, the still small voice."

³⁶ Letter dated May 24, 1848.

THE RISE AND DECLINE OF QUAKERISM IN THE MONONGAHELA VALLEY

By LEVINUS K. PAINTER*

Before the Revolutionary War a few Friends from the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia joined the thin stream of hardy pioneers who followed the trail that Braddock and his men had cut across the mountains. Due to the failure of the Braddock expedition (1755), the Pennsylvania colonial government warned settlers that it was not in a position to assure protection to new communities west of the Allegheny Mountains. Indian raids, inspired by the French, slowed down the stream of Scotch-Irish settlers. But Indian war cries created no fears in the hearts of Quakers. Their "broad brims" afforded far surer protection than the methods of the lamented Braddock. Most of the early Quaker settlers in the Monongahela Valley came from the vicinity of Hopewell, Virginia (Fairfax Quarterly Meeting, later known as Warrington and Fairfax).

While their neighbors were engaged in the struggle for political independence, Quakers found peaceful conquest of the lands beyond the mountains a very suitable alternative to military service. They could clear land, build homes and meetinghouses, establish schools, and start frontier industrial life while other men fought battles and set up the instruments of constitutional government.

These pioneering Quakers in the Redstone area of the Monongahela Valley carved new communities out of the wilderness. About the year 1768 Henry Beeson settled at the junction of the two branches of Redstone Creek and laid out lots for a town. The settlement was first known as Beeson's Town but the name was later changed to Union Town. About the same time, Rees Cadwallader settled on Bridgeport Hill, overlooking the Monongahela River. After his death an attempt was made to give his name to the settlement. Perhaps the name was too great an effort for the human tongue. The name South Brownsville was adopted instead.

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Other Friends crossed the Monongahela River and started a settlement at Westland, four miles west of Brownsville. This community apparently grew more rapidly than the Beeson and Cadwallader neighborhoods, so far as the number of Friends settling in the respective areas was concerned. In 1782 Westland Friends requested that a Preparative Meeting be set up by the parent Monthly Meeting at Hopewell, Virginia. After due deliberation the request was granted and Westland became the first organized Friends meeting west of the Allegheny Mountains. Other meetings were established during the next few years and in 1785 Redstone Monthly Meeting was set up, meeting alternately at Westland on the west side of the Monongahela River and at Redstone (South Brownsville) on the east side.

By 1793 a sufficient number of meetings had been set up to make desirable two Monthly Meetings, the river providing a convenient dividing line. Four years later, in 1797, Baltimore Yearly Meeting gave approval to the setting up of Redstone Quarterly Meeting. At the turn of the century there were eleven meetings of Friends in the Redstone area of the Monongahela Valley. Located on the east side of the river in Fayette County were Bridgeport Hill (also known as South Brownsville and at times called Redstone), Sandy Hill, Center, Providence, and Stewart's Crossing (Connellsville); Sewickley in Westmoreland County, and Sandy Creek over the border in West Virginia. In addition to Westland meeting in Washington County, three other meetings had been set up on the west side of the river: Fallowfield (sometimes called Tallowfield), Pike's Run, and East Findley (also known as Head of Wheeling). A little later, a fifth meeting was established at Ridge or Muddy Creek, but the meeting was small and did not continue many years.

A map showing the location of meetings in Ohio Yearly Meeting circa 1826 indicates that there was also a small group of Friends in Pittsburgh but not a regularly organized meeting.¹ Redstone Quarterly Meeting had been transferred from Baltimore to Ohio Yearly Meeting when it was set up in 1813.

¹ This map is reproduced in the *Inventory of Church Archives: Society of Friends in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Friends Historical Association 1941), opp. p. 338.

Concerned Friends established the first schools in the Redstone frontier settlements. In some cases the meetinghouse was used to provide quarters for schools until separate buildings could be erected. The first school in South Brownsville was taught by a Quaker, Joseph Oxley, "a man of no little fame as a mathematician." Records mention schools at Westland, Providence, and Stewart's Crossing (Connellsville). Aside from these schools, educational and cultural advantages in the pioneer communities were very limited.

Dr. Jesse Pennell, a Quaker, was the first physician in the Brownsville area. The Quaker tradition in medical service was maintained in the community for seventy-five years.

While pioneer Friends were primarily people of the soil, they were also resourceful in providing for the needs of frontier communities. Almost every neighborhood had its tannery, a gristmill, and a sawmill. Friends were always resourceful in making use of available water power.

In 1796 Jonathan Sharpless and Samuel Jackson built a papermill on Redstone Creek, a little above the present village of Grindstone. During the following year the *Pittsburgh Press* put out an edition printed on paper manufactured in this first papermill set up west of the Allegheny Mountains. Some years later the mill was forced to shut down due to lack of raw materials—namely rags.

Before the turn of the century, the Millers, also Quakers, constructed a woolen mill in Brownsville. About 1800 Morris Truman started an ironworks at Upper Middletown (Route #51, north of Uniontown). In 1810 the plant was moved to Brownsville. Iron was smelted from rock quarried in the hills east of Uniontown. These old "iron diggings" are still in evidence. It is said that iron from Fayette County is of high quality and almost rustproof. As time passed, the people of Brownsville objected to the noise created by the ironworks and the mill was moved down the river to the vicinity of Pittsburgh to become the forerunner of the Jones-Laughlin corporation.

Social life was crude in the frontier communities and Christian standards of sex morality were difficult to maintain. It is possible that Friends had more reason than we now appreciate in

attempting to protect their young people from the ways of the world. Disciplinary measures requiring young people to select life companions from within the Quaker group had some justification, for marriages outside the Society seemed to result often in compromises with the world.

Rufus Jones portrays the situation in the Redstone area during the pioneer period very realistically:

During the eighteen years between 1793 and 1811 there were no less than forty persons disowned for fornication or adultery in the one Monthly Meeting of Redstone. . . . It should be added that the moral condition in the Monongahela region appears hardly worse than that which is revealed in the same period in Hopewell Monthly Meeting [the parent meeting in Virginia], or, for that matter, in almost any country meeting from which these pioneer Friends migrated. . . . [In the same period] there were in Redstone Monthly Meeting alone one hundred and forty-six cases of marriage contrary to Discipline. . . . Out of this number no less than one hundred and four were disowned for the "offence." . . . [Rufus Jones concludes:] Few religious bodies could long live and flourish with such a radical surgical method of dealing with its membership."²

The inner life of pioneer meetings was barren enough. Local ministry afforded little constructive religious teaching, partly due to lack of education and study of the Scriptures. Occasionally hardy travelers visited the region, among others Thomas Scattergood and Martha Routh. They commented on the lack of reading matter. Some of the Friends were not literate, as is evident in old marriage certificates. There is occasional record of the purchase of Friends' writings, principally those of William Penn and Robert Barclay and the *Journal* of George Fox. However, there was all too little either in written or spoken word to lead youth into creative religious experience. Much less was there a "sense of mission" to reach out to the unchurched folk in their own neighborhoods. Their ministry was entirely too self-contained and self-centered to be creative.

The military pressures of the Indian wars and of the Revolution had largely driven Friends from public life. But the pioneering spirit was in their blood. The newly opened Northwest Territory fired the imagination of venturesome spirits. The Scotch-Irish were at home among the hills of the Monongahela Valley, but the Quakers were lured by stories of rich and flat forest lands farther

² *The Later Periods of Quakerism* (London, 1921), pp. 395-96.

west. So the Redstone area became little more than a temporary halting place for hundreds of Quaker families who soon pushed on in the western conquest of a continent.

In vain Friends of the Redstone area tried to stop this westward tide. But human tides roll on like the tides of the sea. People of Redstone Quarterly Meeting considered themselves the permanent frontier of the new nation. To move on into the vast stretches of wilderness seemed to be tempting Providence. Rufus Jones quotes this minute of Redstone Monthly Meeting under date of 1793: "A number of members of our Society with their families are removed down the Ohio River and more likely to go which is a cause of uneasiness with us, therefore we request the advice of the Quarterly Meeting."⁸

Friends back at Hopewell in Virginia were in a position to appreciate the concern of Redstone Monthly Meeting. They had been suffering the consequences of westward migration for a quarter of a century and some of the smaller meetings were finding it increasingly difficult to maintain themselves. But advices from Monthly or Quarterly Meetings were not likely to have much effect on the tide of migration.

So Friends of the Redstone area saw their ranks being much depleted during the early decades of the new century. They had neither the concern nor the vision to reach out and bring others into their fellowship. At best Quaker roots had been none too firmly established in the Monongahela region. Two or three decades is all too short a time in which to establish a stable and ongoing community life. Sadly they saw their numbers dwindling, but they felt powerless to do anything about it. Many of the more active Friends moved on to Ohio. Meeting after meeting was closed, until at mid-century Friends were only a scattered remnant in the Redstone area.

The last meeting of record at Westland was held in 1864 and the meeting at Sewickley, the last to close, ceased writing minutes before 1870. The few remaining members were transferred to Salem (Ohio) Monthly Meeting, and records so far as available, were sent to Salem for proper preservation. For the most part, the present generation has forgotten the contribution made by

⁸ Ibid., p. 397.

Quakers through three-quarters of a century to the religious, educational, professional, and industrial life of southwestern Pennsylvania—but not quite.

In 1938 descendants of early Quaker settlers in the Redstone area collected funds and erected a plain granite marker on the spot where the first Quaker meetinghouse west of the Allegheny Mountains had been erected. The writer was invited to be one of the speakers at the unveiling of this marker at Westland in August 1938. It was possible to go not only as a guest but as one of the descendants. My own great-grandfather, just one hundred years my senior, had been brought by his parents from Crooked Run in Virginia to Westland in 1799. Like many others the family soon moved on to Ohio.

But Quaker history in southwestern Pennsylvania does not end with the unveiling of a granite marker in the Westland burying ground. There has been a second migration of Friends into the Redstone area, this time with the primary motive of service and community building. The "great depression" caught the soft coal industry, always unstable, totally unprepared. Hundreds of thousands of men were without work and families were in despair. The Quaker answer was Penn-Craft. More significant than a granite marker is a substantial self-help community of fifty-one stone houses and some fifteen or twenty of wood construction on a four-hundred-acre tract just three miles from where the log meetinghouse had been built on Bridgeport Hill (South Brownsville). The old cemetery remains overgrown with weeds and briars. But Penn-Craft is a living witness to the virility, the creative imagination, and spiritual dynamic of twentieth-century Quakerism.

Morris Truman's iron works moved from Brownsville to Pittsburgh a hundred and forty years ago and became a contributing factor in a great new industrial development. There were a few Quaker families in Pittsburgh in 1826 but only in this century have Friends become firmly established in Pittsburgh as an organized meeting. Pittsburgh Friends were recognized as a Monthly Meeting under the Fellowship Council in 1940 and have continued as a growing and resourceful Friends outpost in a great industrial metropolis. At Penn-Craft and Pittsburgh Friends are still pioneering in southwestern Pennsylvania.

Notes and Documents

THE TWILIGHT OF THE HOLY EXPERIMENT A CONTEMPORARY VIEW

Edited by FREDERICK B. TOLLES

Two hundred years ago, in June 1756, six Quakers resigned their seats in the Pennsylvania Assembly. Their action signaled the end of the most prolonged and remarkable effort ever made to translate Quaker principles into political action. How the "Holy Experiment" came to an end is a story that has often been told.¹ The two-hundredth anniversary is a good time to remind ourselves of the circumstances, and an account published in a Philadelphia newspaper gives us an opportunity to see them through contemporary eyes.

Friends had controlled the Assembly of Pennsylvania for seventy-four years. During all this time Pennsylvania had been at peace. The British government in London had made frequent attempts to involve the Quaker commonwealth in the wars waged outside its borders by requesting or demanding financial support. By one means or another—by outright refusal to participate or by ingenious but somewhat questionable subterfuges—the Quaker Assembly had avoided voting directly for any military measures. But the long peace was broken in 1755. In the wake of General Braddock's disastrous defeat at Fort Duquesne, warfare flared out all along the Pennsylvania frontier. Supported and incited by the French, Delaware and Shawnee Indians terrorized the back settlements during the fall and winter of 1755 with fire and scalping knife. Recent scholarship suggests that responsibility for the alienation of the Indians did not rest primarily on the policy of William Penn's sons, as contemporary Friends insisted and Quaker historians have generally agreed; the roots of the conflict lay

¹ The fullest account, based on Quaker documents, is still Isaac Sharpless's in *A Quaker Experiment in Government* (Philadelphia, 1898), chap. VIII. But see also Theodore Thayer, *Israel Pemberton: King of the Quakers* (Philadelphia, 1943), chaps. VI-VIII.

rather in the harsh facts of imperial power politics, French expansionism, and the land-hunger of Virginia planters and London merchants.² In any case, the non-Quaker inhabitants of the Pennsylvania back country, who bore the brunt of the Indian fury, were not interested in the exact apportionment of blame. They demanded decisive measures of defense and retaliation, and threatened to converge on Philadelphia to enforce their demands by direct action. On April 14, 1756, the Governor and his Council, bowing to insistent pressure, by-passed the Assembly and declared war on the Indians. William Logan, the only "consistent" Friend on the Council, cast the lone dissenting vote.

Meanwhile, in Philadelphia and London, a good deal of political maneuvering had been going on. In November 1755 the Quaker Assemblymen actually voted defense measures. They appropriated £55,000 for the relief of friendly Indians and distressed frontiersmen "and other purposes." The phrase "other purposes," like the well-worn formula "for the Queen's use" in earlier appropriation bills, could obviously cover military expenditures and was presumably intended to be so construed. At the same time, they passed a militia bill, drawn by Benjamin Franklin to Quaker specifications. It called for the voluntary enlistment of all men whose conscience allowed them to fight. By these equivocal devices the hard-pressed legislators hoped to satisfy their critics on both sides—concerned Quakers and non-resistant Germans, who wanted no warlike measures at all, and the militant anti-Quaker forces, who demanded a vigorous defense policy. Their compromises satisfied no one.

A group of twenty Friends, speaking for themselves but representing the "weight" of the Yearly Meeting, promptly sent an address to the Assembly, protesting its action in appropriating funds and "putting them into the Hands of Committees who may

² Julian Boyd, "Indian Affairs in Pennsylvania, 1736-1762," in *Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin* (Philadelphia, 1938). It is worth noting that John Hanbury, a wealthy London Quaker, was one of the moving spirits in the Ohio Company, the group of land speculators whose activity in the Ohio valley was one of the factors which precipitated the Anglo-French conflict there. See Lois Mulkearn, ed., *George Mercer Papers Relating to the Ohio Company of Virginia* (Pittsburgh, 1954), *passim*.

Apply them to Purposes inconsistent with the Peaceable Testimony We profess and have born to the World." Many Friends, they anticipated, would "be under the necessity of suffering rather than Consenting Thereto by the payment of a Tax for such Purposes."³ The same group of Friends who put their names to this address were simultaneously engaged in organizing the Friendly Association for Regaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures.

The anti-Quaker party had been busy writing petitions too. A hundred and six prominent citizens, mostly Presbyterians and Anglicans, signed a memorial to the King, setting forth the "naked and defenceless state" of Pennsylvania, complaining of the Quaker Assembly's policy, and praying the King to interpose his authority and put the colony in a strong posture of defense.⁴ The Board of Trade, to which the petition was referred, recommended in February 1756 that Friends be purged from the Pennsylvania Assembly by the simple expedient of requiring an oath, against which, it was well known, they had a conscientious scruple. At this point a committee of the Meeting for Sufferings in London waited upon several highly placed noblemen, who agreed to use their influence to prevent the disqualification of Quaker officeholders if English Friends in turn would undertake to persuade their Pennsylvania brethren not to seek or hold office during the war. To this arrangement the Meeting for Sufferings and the Yearly Meeting agreed. Letters were dispatched to Philadelphia, urging Friends to step down. To reinforce the letters, London Friends sent two special emissaries, John Hunt and Christopher Wilson, to use their personal influence.

In June 1756, even before Hunt and Wilson landed in Philadelphia, six Quaker Assemblymen resigned, led by James Pember-

³ *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st Series, II, 487-88. The signers of the address were Anthony Morris, Jr., William Moode, Israel Pemberton, Thomas Brown, Thomas Lightfoot, John Pemberton, Mordecai Yarnall, Joshua Fisher, Samuel Sansom, Isaac Greenleaf, John Smith, Anthony Benezet, Anthony Morris, Samuel Powel, John Churchman, William Brown, Isaac Jeans [query: Isaiah Jeanes or Isaac Zane?], Daniel Stanton, Edward Cathrall, and John Reynell.

⁴ The petition and related documents are printed in "The Attitude of the Quakers in the Provincial Wars," ed. Charles J. Stillé, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, X (1886), 283-315.

ton, whose two brothers had signed the earlier protest against the war appropriation. "As many of our Constituents," they declared, "seem of Opinion that the present Situation of Public Affairs calls upon us for Services in a military Way, which, from a Conviction of Judgment, after mature Deliberation, we cannot comply with, we conclude it most conducive to the Peace of our own Minds and the Reputation of our religious Profession, to persist in our Resolution of resigning our Seats."⁵ When the next election came around in October, most—though not all—of the other Quaker politicians declined to stand for office and control of the legislature passed for the first time in the colony's history into non-Quaker hands. By that time the war which had commenced in a series of local skirmishes and massacres on the Pennsylvania frontier had broadened into the first global conflict of modern history—the conflict which we used to know, in its American phase, as the "French and Indian War" and, in its European, as the "Seven Years War," but which, following the usage of Professor L. H. Gipson, historians are now coming to call the "Great War for the Empire." The Quaker "holy experiment" in Pennsylvania was one of the first casualties of that war.

Whether one calls the "holy experiment" a success or a failure will depend upon one's point of view. Judged by an absolute standard, as an attempt to conduct a mundane government in the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount, it unquestionably failed. Indeed, one can point to shortcomings, inconsistencies, compromises throughout its whole course; one can even contend that it was foredoomed to failure.⁶ Judged, on the other hand, by the relative standards we are accustomed to apply to worldly governments, it was a notable success. How many governments in human history can match its

⁵ *Pennsylvania Archives*, 8th Series, V, 4246. I have substituted "persist" for "permit"—an obvious mistranscription—in the last clause.

⁶ See, for example, Guy F. Hershberger, "The Pennsylvania Quaker Experiment in Politics, 1682-1756," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, X (1936), 187-221; Edwin B. Bronner, "The Failure of the 'Holy Experiment' in Pennsylvania, 1684-1699," *Pennsylvania History*, XXI (1954), 93-108.

record? How many have maintained comparable conditions of peace, liberty, and well-being for three quarters of a century?⁷

The letter here reprinted appeared in the midst of the controversy preceding the demise of the Quaker regime. It was published by William Bradford in his *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser* for May 27, 1756. Probably it is impossible now to identify its author. The initials "A.B." were almost certainly not his actual initials. He was evidently a reasonably well-informed Philadelphian—not a Quaker, but sufficiently sympathetic and fair-minded to defend Friends against certain unjust allegations, including the common charge of avarice, and to praise the peace-making efforts of the Friendly Association.

I am indebted to Henry J. Cadbury for calling this letter to my attention.

MR. BRADFORD.

The following Letter was sent me by a Friend in the City, if you think any Part of it will be of Service to the Public, your publishing it will oblige some of my Neighbours in the Country, as well as your humble Servant.

C. D.

A Letter from a Tradesman in Philadelphia, to his Friend in the Country,

Dear Sir,

You have frequently requested me to furnish you with the current News of the City, which I have as often designed to do, but my Attention to the common Affairs of my own Family and the Superintending my Journeymen and Apprentices, as often prevented me from doing.

The Kind of News that you are most anxious to be informed of is as immediately relates to the Wellfare of this Province, and I shall endeavour to give it you in the most exact Manner that my Intelligence enables me to do; and you must know that I attend the Coffee House every Post Day, and there it is I hear what passes in London relative to the Affairs of this Province.

In the first Place we are told, that his Majesty's Council advised the recommending a *Bill* to the House of *Commons* for strip-

⁷ See, for example, E. Dingwall and E. A. Heard, *Pennsylvania, 1681-1756: The State without an Army* (London, 1937); Margaret E. Hirst, *The Quakers in Peace and War* (London, 1923), chap. XIV.

ing the *Quakers* of some Privileges which they have hitherto enjoyed, by endeavouring to obtain an *Act of Parliament* to disable them from Setting in Assembly. This was designed to be effected, by enforcing the Test Act, which you will suppose could not be complied with because a Real *Quaker* cannot take an Oath of any Kind, and I am told that this very Test Act was likely to pass, had not a Noble Lord⁸ interfered, who had some Weight in the Council, and is well known to have a considerable share of Understanding, prevented it by proposing a Remedy, which appeared to be Satisfactory. This Remedy was no less than that the *Quakers* in *England* should engage for their Brethren here, that the latter, or at least a Majority of them, would not accept of Seats in the Assembly during the present Prospect of a War with France, and which I am credibly informed by some of the Society they design to Comply with——It is thought that some of them who are conscientiously scrupulous against Defence of any kind, will *resign* their Seats the next Sessions, and if that should not be the Case, you may depend upon it, their Inclination or supposed love of Power will not induce them to accept of those Seats again, until the Tranquillity of the Province may be restored, when I hope they will think it their Duty to resume the Honour of Setting in that House.—I am sorry to acquaint you, that the Honest endeavours of the present Assembly to preserve the Liberties of their Countrymen have been so basely represented at Home, by a Set of Men whose principal Aim seems to me to be nothing less than engrossing the sole Power of our Properties and Persons. Our Properties by taxing us freely; and our Persons by ordering us to Duties in Military Stations—which latter must and will depend upon the Caprice of one Man, the Supream Magistrate of *Pensilvania* for the Time being, all which I suppose will be the Consequence of a Militia Law, which in all Likelihood will be determined on in a short Time——In which Act, I would Advice those future Gentlemen to consider, how much it will be for their Reputation and Credit to frame this Law in the mildest manner they can suggest, without destroying the Use of it, by granting too great Indulgences to those who may be scrupulous in Bearing Arms—The *Quakers* you know have never been against paying their Share of Taxes, provided they pay them

⁸ Probably Earl Granville, Lord President of the Council.

for Purposes they approve of, and no Man can pay them with a good Will, that doth not pay them upon the same Principle; and therefore the Quaker pays his Taxes upon the same Terms the Rest of Mankind do, and if the Quaker be compelled to pay a Tax against his Inclination, he doth not wrangle at the Time of Payment—but either pays his Money, or shews the Proper Officer who hath Authority to receive the same, Effects sufficient to produce the Sum assessed upon him. Nay I have been told by some of that Society, that where Twenty Shillings hath been levied upon a Quaker for his Quota of the Tax, and Goods to the Value of £5 have been sold to pay the same, which Goods have perhaps sold for £3 10 or £4. that this very Quaker hath even refused to receive the Overplus—which most Men would imagine was his Real Property. Doth a Refusal of this kind, argue such an extraordinary Love of Money in these People. Yet is it daily insinuated that this very Society under the Cloak of Principle, are with-holding from the best of Kings the Tribute which is due to Casar, and which I am satisfied, they never will attempt to with-hold, notwithstanding the late outcry against them upon that Head—I have been assured from undoubted Authority, that some of that Society have lately offered a considerable Part of their private Fortune to promote a friendly Accommodation with the Indians who have been lately inhumanly Ravaging upon our Frontiers and destroyed a Number of our Back Inhabitants. Some People imagine no Terms ought to be held with these Indians.—But I must beg Leave to say, that the late Efforts made use of by the Society of Friends⁹ to gain the good Will of the Indians (notwithstanding their Rebellion against his Majesty and his good Subjects here) is no other than what hath been made Use of by every Province and Colony upon the Continent.

And notwithstanding this Piece of Conduct of theirs hath been ridiculed as the Effects of Enthusiasm, we have some late Assurances that give us Hope the same will be attended with good Consequences.

⁹ Henry J. Cadbury has called attention to this as one of the earliest recorded uses of the term "Society of Friends," though he recognizes the possibility that in the context it may refer to the Friendly Society for Gaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians. *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, XLVII (1955), 95.

We have been lately entertained, or more properly disagreeably oppressed, with Party Papers and Pamphlets; all which from the Scurrility contained in them appear to me to be principally calculated to foment the Violence of Party Rage instead of allaying it. I am sorry to tell you that the Author of a late Pamphlet, entituled *the second Part of the Brief State*,¹⁰ has been so miserably reduced for Arguments of Truth to support his Bretheren and the Cause they espouse, that he has meanly descended to attack the Characters of two Female Quaker Preachers now in this City,¹¹ whose Conduct, as far as I know, has been quite blameless, neither have I understood, that either of them have interferred with the Politics of the present Time, otherwise than frequently and religiously recommending to their Hearers, the Considerations of a future State as a Matter of greater Importance to Mankind than the Preservation of our Bodies from Death in any Shape; and this Doctrine appears so Orthodox to the Christian Religion, that I believe it would puzzle all the Bishops in England to refute it.—My Letter I believe you will think too long, for which Reason I bid adieu and

am my Dear Sir your affectionate Humble Serv.

A. B.

¹⁰ *A Brief View of the Conduct of Pennsylvania, for the Year 1755. . . . Interspers'd with Several Interesting Anecdotes and Original Papers, Relating to the Politics and Principles of the People Called Quakers: Being a Sequel to a Late Well-Known Pamphlet, Intitled, A Brief State of Pennsylvania* (London, 1756). The author was William Smith, Provost of the College of Philadelphia, one of the leading spokesmen of the anti-Quaker party.

¹¹ The two "Female Quaker Preachers" were Mary Peisley and Catherine Payton, traveling English Friends. At the time of the Indian massacres, says the author of *A Brief View* (p. 61), these two Friends invited the Quaker members of Assembly to a private home and told them "that if ever they gave up, or acted inconsistent with, that distinguishing Tenet of their Religion, which restrained them from bearing Arms, or contributing to Defense, they would no longer be a separate People, but would dwindle away insensibly, among the *Men of the Earth*." Catherine Payton in her Journal confirms this statement: she was concerned on that occasion, she writes, "to testify, against that spirit, which from human considerations was for war, and to strengthen the minds of Friends against leaning thereto." *Memoirs of the Life of Catherine Phillips* (London, 1797), p. 140.

Quaker Research in Progress

The following list of current or recent studies in Quaker history continues the series of such notices appearing from time to time in the BULLETIN. It is of course improbable that the list is complete, but it is interesting as showing where the present frontiers of Quaker research are.

Information concerning other Quaker studies in progress but not published should be sent to Henry J. Cadbury, Chairman of the Committee on Historical Research, Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pennsylvania.

Walter Forrest Altman, Department of English, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida. Woolman's Reading. (A study of every book Woolman is known to have read, quoted, or been exposed to). Florida State University: English, thesis for Ph.D. degree. 1956.

Ralph Paul Bohn, 1645 Berwyn Avenue, Chicago 40, Illinois. The Controversy between Puritans and Quakers to 1660. (A study of the theological differences manifested in the polemical writings of the early Friends and their Puritan critics). University of Edinburgh: thesis for Ph.D. degree. Completed.

Beatrice E. (Spring) Borchardt, Box 37, Alpaugh, California. Marcus and Rebecca Buffum Spring of Eagleswood. (Study of their Quaker background, and their connection with the Raritan Bay Union, Utopian community at Eagleswood, New Jersey, and other organizations).

Robert S. Burgess, 20 Lincoln Avenue, West Barrington, Rhode Island. Mary Dyer. (For the early teen-age reader). To be completed in 1956.

Hardy Carroll, Box 19, Guilford College, North Carolina. The Treatment of Temptation and Sin in Early Quakerism. University of Edinburgh: Divinity, thesis for Ph.D. degree. 1956.

Hugh M. Cronister, 788 West End Avenue, New York 25, N. Y. The Journal of John Woolman: A Re-estimation of Its Merit. Columbia University: English Literature, thesis for M.A. degree. Completed.

Alan Cole, 4 North Terrace, Cambridge, England. The Quakers and Politics to 1660. Cambridge University: History, thesis for Ph.D. degree. 1955.

James H. Duckrey, State Teachers College, Cheyney, Pennsylvania. Life of Richard Humphreys. (Founder of State Teachers College, Cheyney [d. 1832]).

Mrs. George H. Eckhardt, 530 Bellevue Avenue, Hammonton, New Jersey. John Woolman in relation to the Old School House in Mount Holly.

S. H. Fang. History of Friends in China. (Mainly about West China Friends).

Larry Gara, 912 South Main Street, Eureka, Illinois. The Legend of the Underground Railroad. (An attempt to separate the legend from the historical institution and to trace the growth and uses of the legend from ante-bellum days to the present).

Dorothy G. Harris, 209 Garrett Avenue, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania. Factors Influencing the Architecture of Nineteenth-Century American Quaker Meetinghouses. (An analysis of the change in meetinghouse design, with 93 illustrations). University of Pennsylvania: American Civilization.

Ruth A. Heaton, St. Mary's College, Durham University, Durham, England. The Organization and Discipline of the Society of Friends in the Eighteenth Century, with Particular Reference to Newcastle Monthly Meeting, 1765-80. Durham University: History, thesis for B.A. degree.

Alex M. Hitz, 1516 Peachtree Street, N.W., Atlanta 9, Georgia. The Quakers' Town and Township known as Wrightsborough. (Georgia before and during the Revolution.)

William R. Hughes. How Seekers Find. (A study of the conversion experiences of Friends, based on Quaker journals.) Woodbrooke. 1953. (Copy at Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore.)

Caroline N. Jacob, West Chester, Pennsylvania. William Edmondson, "Hammer of Ireland."

Sydney V. James, Jr., 204D Holden Green, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts. Quaker Humanitarianism in Colonial America. Harvard University: History, thesis for Ph.D. degree.

Henrietta Stratton Jaquette, 101 South Chester Road, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania. Friends Association of Philadelphia for the Aid and Elevation of the Freedmen.

Francois Laplanche, 11 place Bretonnaise, Cholet, Maine et Loire, France. L'enseignement de Moyse Amyraut, professeur à l'Académie protestante de Saumur sur la grâce et le prédestination. [William Penn studied under Amyraut at Saumur in 1663.] Université catholique d'Angers: Divinity. 1955.

Bradford Lyttle, 5729 Dorchester Avenue, Chicago 37, Illinois. The Participation of Quakers in Civil Government. (An historical survey covering the period 1656-1900 with generalizations drawn therefrom.) Copy at Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore. 1956.

Jean Bruce McClure, 17 New Street, Newark, Delaware. Benjamin Ferris and the *Paul and Amicus Letters*. (The life of Benjamin Ferris and his contribution to early nineteenth-century Quaker liberalism.)

Sophie Polgar, Oakwood School, Poughkeepsie, New York. Voltaire et les Quakers. (The development in Voltaires' attitude towards the Society of Friends as expressed throughout his works, notes, and letters.) McGill University: French, thesis for M.A. degree. 1955.

Youra Qualls, Langston University, Langston, Oklahoma. Friend and Freedman: The Work of the Association of Friends of Philadelphia and Its Vicinity for the Relief and Education of Freedmen during the Civil War and Reconstruction, 1862-72. Radcliffe College: History of American Civilization, thesis for Ph.D. degree. Completed.

Clara G. Roe, History Department, University of Akron, Akron, Ohio. Biography of Major-General Nathanael Greene.

Helen W. Shortlidge, 139 East Biddle Street, West Chester, Pennsylvania. History of Little Britain Monthly Meeting and Eastland Preparative Meeting.

Madeleine Yaude Stephenson, 901 Creston Road, Berkeley 8, California. Oriental Philosophies and Contemporary Quakerism. (A study of the interpenetration of East and West as reflected in the thought and practice of Friends today.) College of the Pacific: Asian Studies, thesis for M.A. degree. 1955.

Theodore Thayer, 40 Rector Street, Newark, New Jersey. Life of Nathanael Greene.

Hans Uhlerr, Bruckerstrasse 22½, Erlangen, Germany. The Usage of *you* and *thou* in American English. (Covers the usage of the second person singular pronoun, particularly up to 1800.) University of Erlangen: English, thesis for Ph.D. degree.

J. P. van Dooren. Herv. pastorie Scherpenzeel-Munnekeburen, Friesland, The Netherlands. History of Quakerism in the Netherlands. (A summary of William I. Hull's series on Dutch Quaker history, based on published and unpublished materials.)

Elizabeth B. Yarnall, 425 Roumfort Road, Philadelphia 19, Pennsylvania. Addison Hutton, Architect (1834-1916).

Historical News

Friends Historical Association

THE ANNUAL MEETING of Friends Historical Association was held on Eleventh Month 28, 1955, at the Library Company of Philadelphia, Broad and Christian Streets, Philadelphia. Richmond P. Miller, Vice-President, was in the chair. The Association was welcomed to the Library Company by Edwin Wolf, 2nd, the Librarian. William Mintzer Wills presented the Treasurer's report, which was accepted and is printed herewith. The following five Directors were re-elected for terms of three years: Samuel J. Bunting, Jr., Thomas E. Drake, Henry J. Cadbury, Edwin B. Bronner, and George Vaux. The Chairman of the Membership Committee reported that the current membership of the Association was 744, representing a net gain of eighteen since the previous Annual Meeting. She also announced that Albert Cook Myers had been elected an Honorary Member in recognition of his long membership and services to the Association and his outstanding historical contributions.

Elizabeth Biddle Yarnall spoke briefly on the architectural work of her grandfather, Addison Hutton, who designed the Library Company building (formerly known as the Ridgway Branch) as well as a number of buildings for Friends schools and colleges. Frederick B. Tolles then delivered an address on the subject "James Logan, and the Penn Family: A Study in Loyalty." At the chairman's request Edwin Wolf made some closing remarks on the library of James Logan which is housed in the Library Company, and called attention to the exhibits of books and manuscripts from the Loganian Library.

* * *

At its meeting on Second Month 2, 1956, the Board of Directors adopted the following minute:

At this meeting we have with sadness to record the death of our dear Friend and Honorary President William Wistar Comfort on Christmas Eve last at his home on the Haverford College Campus.

Having become a member of Friends Historical Association in 1908—the year before he joined the faculty of Cornell University as head of the Romance Languages Department—William Comfort was elected to this Board in 1934, and in the following year became President of our Association upon the retirement of Charles Francis Jenkins. For almost two decades William Comfort served with the distinction to be expected of a President of Haverford College and sometime Clerk of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting held at Fourth and Arch Streets. By the time of his own retirement on the 9th of First Month 1953, William Comfort had published his two volumes on William Penn, as well as *Just Among Friends: The Quaker Way of Life* and *Quakers in the Modern World*, while we understand that shortly before his death the manuscript of another comprehensive study of Quakerism had been completed.

But for us today these mellow fruits of his scholarship can do little to diminish our sense of the great loss to this Association, and to our whole Society, at the close of so long and productive and honorable a life.

From Quaker Libraries

Among other accessions to the Quaker Collection during the past year, Haverford College reports a large addition to the papers of Joshua L. Baily (1826-1916). This collection was begun in 1941, when the late William L. Baily began to deposit papers relating to his brother, who was a member of Twelfth Street Meeting in Philadelphia. Now Albert L. Baily, Jr., and Joshua L. Baily, Jr., have added some 800 more manuscripts—diaries, notebooks, letters, and essays of their father, illuminating some of his many interests in business and philanthropy.

Of more recent interest, but now happily in the category of past history, is a typescript account of the events which transpired at the Media Friends School relating to the admission of colored children in 1937. This document is the gift of Dorothy B. James.

A gift of Henry J. Cadbury from the estate of his father, the late Joel Cadbury, brings to Haverford a unique file of a previously unknown Philadelphia Quaker journal, *The Young Spectator*. Norwood Penrose Hallowell (1838-1914), a Hicksite Friend who had attended the Introductory Department at Haverford from 1849 to 1853, edited *The Young Spectator* bi-weekly for six issues, from Third Month 15 to Fifth Month 24, 1856. He proposed, he wrote, "to cultivate a taste for literature, and awaken a desire to search for the Truth," but his short-lived periodical's chief claim to fame seems to have rested on the fact that it was banned at

Haverford College. The reason for this prohibition is not now very clear, unless the College authorities considered the paper too frivolous, too liberal, or too provocative on the slavery question to be admitted to the campus. Its young editor soon moved to Boston, graduated from Harvard in 1861, and achieved distinction as an officer of a Negro regiment in the Civil War.

* * *

Swarthmore College has announced the opening of a new program of study leading to the Master's degree in History for students having special interest in the history of Quakerism or the history of the peace movement. The program will consist of three Honors seminars in History (or related subjects) and a thesis based on original research in some phase of Quaker history or the history of the peace movement. It is expected that the candidate's research will normally be carried on largely in the Friends Historical Library. Inquiries and applications should be addressed to Professor Frederick B. Tolles, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

The Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College has accessioned a number of significant printed and manuscript materials in recent months, of which a few may be briefly mentioned. A group of approximately a hundred letters from John Greenleaf Whittier to his editor, Francis J. Garrison, reveal the poet in one of the literary man's most intimate and crucial relationships. The surprising extent to which the Quaker writer's poems have inspired musical compositions is reflected in a collection of more than a hundred scores of vocal and choral works based on Whittier texts. The Elias Hicks Manuscripts in the Library have been augmented by the deposit of more than two hundred letters written to Hicks by such Quaker correspondents as George Churchman, William Logan Fisher, Thomas Hazard, Jr., Isaac T. Hopper, and Hugh Judge. A bound volume containing twenty-nine letters of Thomas and Elizabeth Robson, English Friends who traveled widely in America, sheds light upon the Separation of 1827 among other matters; it supplements a large collection of Robson papers in the Library of Friends House, London. The correspondence of the Hurnard family between 1804 and 1836 reflects the life of an English Quaker family domiciled in Wilmington, Delaware, dur-

ing the heyday of that town as a Quaker center. From Friends House, London, the Library has obtained a microfilm copy of the "Book of Cases" (4 volumes, 1661-1818) which shows in great detail the involvement of English Friends in legal proceedings, largely in defense of the rights of conscience.

Mary Sullivan Patterson is attempting to gather together information about all Friends who came to America up through the year 1750. This collection will be housed at the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College in two files, one alphabetically, the second according to the meeting which the immigrants first joined in this country.

We have but fragmentary information about our early American Friends, so few of the certificates they brought with them have been kept or recorded in full, and so many of the early records have been lost or destroyed. Reliable sources are Bible records made at the time, sometimes deeds, wills, or the wording of marriage records. Those who can add to this compilation are encouraged to do so, identifying the source of the information. It will be helpful, when known, to give the parents of the immigrants as well as their children, so that these files will be of assistance to future researchers. Please list occupations, if known.

Mary Patterson will also be glad to have information about early colonists who came to America prior to 1751 and joined the Society of Friends by conviction. In all cases, please write to her in care of the Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

Report of the Treasurer

For the year Eleventh Month 1, 1954
to Tenth Month 31, 1955

RECEIPTS

Dues received—	
Current	\$1911.00
Arrears	105.00
Advance	15.00
	2031.00
<i>Bulletins</i> and Royalties	100.70
Income from Investments	338.75
Gifts	138.00
	2608.45
Cash Balance from 1953-54	2683.91
Total Receipts	5292.36

DISBURSEMENTS

Annual Meeting, 1954	192.00
Annual Meeting, 1955	18.00
Spring Meeting, 1955	97.98
<i>Bulletin</i> (2 issues)	1335.56
Editor's Fee	300.00
Editor's Fee—Index	40.00
Investments	178.20
Miscellaneous	298.67
Special Publication Fund (for Elias Hicks biography) ..	100.00
Total Disbursements	2560.50
Cash Balance	2731.86
(on deposit with the Girard Trust Corn Exchange Bank)	
Reserved for Publications and Index ...	375.75
Reserved for current expenses	2356.11

Respectfully submitted

William Mintzer Wills

Treasurer

Examined and found correct

Edward R. Moon

George Vaux

Book Reviews

Elias Hicks: Quaker Liberal. By Bliss Forbush. Foreword by Frederick B. Tolles. New York: Columbia University Press. 1956. xxii, 355 pages. \$5.50.

Elias Hicks has been "hedged" from today by the revolutionary changes since the age of Jefferson and by his own efforts within and along the frontiers of Quakerism. The style and subject-matter of his published *Journal*, sermons, and letters raised a barrier. Hardly any books on Hicks were published during the past century. Wilbur's sound biography (1910) painted a still-life. Friends hoping for reunion did not want to resurrect this powerful minister, or to translate the prophet's concerns into messages for their day.

Bliss Forbush has undertaken this translation, and to a satisfying degree he has achieved it. The task was exacting. The man whose life span almost matched Jefferson's, and who, like Jefferson, kept growing and working out a firm core of convictions from early manhood to extreme age, must be revealed as both stable and dynamic. He must be seen against his Quaker, Long Island, Middle-State, and American background. The minister of God must be treated according to his main theological reference; the frontier preacher in terms of backwoods religion; and the reformer in the light of the myriad movements he touched. How did he fare as a neutral in two wars? As a farmer, was he a Jeffersonian agrarian? As a frequent visitor to the great American ports, how did he react to their commercial expansion?

The greatest gain in this biography results from nine years' absorption of newly accessible manuscripts and from the chronological organization, which reveals Hicks' growth. From his first vision of the wren and the flame at the age of seven—reminiscent of Woolman and the robins—to the "watershed" of the disownment of Hannah Barnard in 1802, the character of Elias unfolds in reaction to events. He upheld the testimonies of peace and mediation, aided the New York Negro's transition from slavery, and fostered education. At home he endured the steady burden of family tragedy, built his own Jericho meeting, and learned from Job Scott. He fought denominational skirmishes on the road, and countered worldly and aristocratic tendencies. Apparently he crystallized in the 1790's and reached the height of his powers at sixty, when he toured New York Yearly Meeting with Stephen Grellet. It is less clear whether in his last twenty-odd years he continued to change, or to throw the weight of his leadership into the causes he already stood for. His antislavery *Observations* (1811) are interpreted as foreshadowing the temper of the organized

abolitionist movement. The pamphlet can also be viewed as a reaction to his first defeat by city Friends who opposed his free produce ideas.

This account of Hicks and the Separation is the fullest, as Frederick Tolles writes in the Foreword. It is the only detailed "liberal" version since Samuel Janney's. From the 1819 declaration of war to the ugly aftermath of lawsuits we see the tragic flaw of pride, combativeness, and insensitivity in Hicks, as well as the Evangelical concentration on Bible, theology and elder-rule. Hicks wanted "to promote a reformation," Forbush concludes; the Evangelicals would win "souls . . . to Christ" (p. 137). It is not clear whether Hicks and Job Scott represented a different theological trend from Hannah Barnard and the New England New Lights. Did New England's weak support of Hicks, in spite of his extensive trips there, reflect a real regional boundary, as well as the reaction to the earlier Yankee flowering of liberal religion? The church government issue remains obscure. If "Friends had never believed in majority rule, but it was equally objectionable for a minority to assume the right to govern," (p. 220) where on earth did power reside?

The good biographer raises new questions in the process of answering others. Why did Hicks never visit North Carolina, when he reached every other Yearly Meeting in North America? How did Quietism, "unsuited for . . . missionary conquest," (p. 55) produce this great missionary? How thorough a reformer was he? While Bliss Forbush leaves room for more work, he has put action and passion, color, sound, and a sweet savor into his story of the outstanding American Quaker between Woolman and Whittier.

Earlham College

T. D. SEYMOUR BASSETT

Arnold Rowntree: A Life. By Elfrida Vipont. London: Bannisdale Press. 1955. 126 pages. \$2.50.

Why do young Quaker men nowadays often despise business—especially merchandise?

Here is the life-story of a notable man who left school at seventeen and went into his father's grocery store, to buy and sell for profit. No Co-op system, no voluntary poverty. Straight private enterprise. A year or two later he went into his uncle's cocoa business, and his young zest and originality led him soon to be put in charge of the advertising department. Here he was in the heart of the competitive side of business; but did that worry him? Far from it. He had tremendous fun putting on advertising stunts of a spectacular quality. For disguised uplift? No. To sell cocoa.

Then was this young man not an idealist? Quite the contrary. One of the partners in the firm for whom he thus made money was John Wilhelm Rowntree, and another was Seebohm. These names—and the name of Arnold Rowntree himself—are names to conjure with in Quaker-

ism. Their lives and thoughts have left an indelible imprint on the Society of Friends.

We remember Arnold Rowntree as a great Quaker, a great Liberal, a public man of influence; Sheriff of York, Member of Parliament in the Liberal interest, part owner of a great chain of newspapers, and a pioneer in the new fraternal relations of employer and employed. But his early years were founded on this practical, down-to-earth base, and it has a valuable lesson for our sometimes irrational modern idealism. I would like to give this vigorous and lively book to every young man of school-leaving age, before the pattern of his life is set.

There is another practical lesson too. How is an energetic young man or woman, giving his or her daily best to an exacting job, to have energy left over to use spare time in evening committees, weekend visits to meetings, civic responsibilities, and the like? John Wilhelm Rowntree, himself an ardent young Quaker, saw the potential of another in his cousin Arnold, and foresaw the coming overwork and tug of conflicting tasks; so he persuaded his father to provide Arnold with a man to act as his private secretary, and so double his capacity for Quaker and public service, without risk of breakdown. This might be one answer to the rising danger of professionalized Quakerism.

And now, thanks to Elfrida Foulds for her easy, lively style, the skill with which she has gathered the threads of this various life together, and the warmth with which she has made her readers feel Arnold Rowntree as a living man.

Westtown, Pennsylvania

JANET WHITNEY

Elizabeth Cadbury, 1858-1951. By Richenda Scott. London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd. 1955. 200 pages. \$2.50.

Richenda Scott, despite her high qualifications for the task, must have had great difficulty in packing so much length and breadth of history, private and public, into a book of less than two hundred pages.

Elizabeth Cadbury's vivid and triumphant life fell into three periods, each of thirty years or so. At the age of thirty she married George Cadbury of cocoa and Bournville Garden Village fame. Twenty years his junior, she took over the responsibility for the five children of his first marriage, and bore him five further children within the first five years! Throughout their happy life together she not only shared intelligently many of his large-hearted and pioneering ventures in and around the cocoa works at Bournville, but engaged also in a host of social and philanthropic activities of her own, which were continued with unabated zeal and increasing scope after her husband's death in 1923, almost to the end of her long life, despite some twenty years of near blindness.

The Quaker historical interest of the book lies especially, perhaps,

in the following facts. Elizabeth Cadbury was directly connected with, and deeply concerned for, the creation of Woodbrooke in the very house that was the Cadbury home during the early years of her marriage. Again, she shared in the development of the Bournville Village Trust, of which she became Chairman at George Cadbury's death, and in the establishment of the Bournville Friends Meeting, which, because of its wider community responsibilities, included for many years in a mainly unprogrammed service the regular reading of scripture and the singing of hymns. Elizabeth (Taylor) Cadbury was an outstanding and somewhat unusual example of a Friend with a long Quaker family tradition behind her, who combined an exuberant evangelical faith and zeal (for example, in her ardent co-operation with George Cadbury in the Adult School Movement) together with an open-mindedness that carried her into the modernist Quaker movement as exemplified by the Summer School Movement and, of course, Woodbrooke itself.

There were two other attitudes characteristic of Elizabeth Cadbury which reflected the depth of her Quaker rootage, despite the strength of her civic sense and the intensity of her outward activities. Though finding it hard to understand those who felt unable to render any kind of service to the state in wartime, she nevertheless incurred considerable unpopularity by defending the rights of conscientious objection in the non-Quaker committees upon which she was serving. Again, she was very clear, in the words of her biographer, that "the Society of Friends was neither a peace organization nor a league of social service. It was a religious community, a branch of the Christian Church, which must stand or fall by the depth and reality of the spiritual life of its members."

One must refer, in closing, to the so characteristic fact—amusingly recounted in the penultimate chapter—that, at the end of a long day of celebration on her ninetieth birthday, surrounded by a hundred and fifty of her near relatives, including thirty-eight grandchildren and thirty-four great grandchildren, "when most of the guests were preparing to depart a little jaded with the festivities and excitements and the summer's heat, Elizabeth, brisk as ever, announced that she must unfortunately hurry away to attend a meeting" at which she felt she must appear as the President of many years standing!

Swarthmore, Pennsylvania

BERTRAM PICKARD

P.S. A reviewer sometimes feels it his duty to point to page so-and-so, where an error in fact or spelling or punctuation has been "noted with surprise." Or he deplores the absence of an index. The reviewer will do none of these things. (There is an excellent index, by the way.) He will only ask the biographer what happened on page 132, where it is stated that certain women were "given a place on the Council of the League of Nations," a body made up exclusively of governments! Presumably the League of Nations *Secretariat* was meant.

Exiled by the Czar: Cornelius Jansen and the Great Mennonite Migration, 1874. By Gustav E. Reimer and G. R. Gaeddert. Newton, Kansas: Mennonite Publication Office. 1956, x, 205 pages. \$2.75.

Here is the book many of us have been needing to fill in our knowledge of how the large Mennonite populations in the United States arrived and where they came from. From Holland to East Prussia; from East Prussia to South Russia; many from both areas to America; always in search of religious liberty. One sees the successive encroachments of military conscription, begun in the French Revolution, continued by Napoleon, copied by Bismarck and then by Czarist Russia.

With incredible effort these pacifist disciples of Christ moved their homes; abandoned much earthly treasure; re-established education for their children.

Cornelius Jansen as a young man in South Russia showed great business ability. He never relinquished his Prussian citizenship and for a time was Consul at Berdyansk, Russia, for Prussia and later for Mecklenburg. As the Russian government began prohibiting the distribution of Mennonite literature and set a date to end their freedom from conscription, Cornelius Jansen worked through the English Consul at Odessa and corresponded with English Friends, two of whom, Isaac Robson and Thomas Harvey, had visited the South Russian Mennonite communities in 1867. When the Russian government realized that Cornelius Jansen was agitating for a large-scale emigration, it exiled him. He and his family left Russia in 1873 for the long trip via Hamburg to the United States.

Prairies were examined in Canada, in the Dakotas, and Kansas. The Jansen family finally chose Nebraska. From then until his death in 1894, Cornelius Jansen not only developed his own sheep farming but traveled incessantly to aid hundreds of other Mennonite newcomers. Mostly his elder son, Peter, traveled with him. It was Peter who in 1902 accompanied one of the Philadelphia Friends among the Russian Doukhobors in Saskatchewan. Both Cornelius Jansen's son, Cornelius, Jr. (Class of 1889) and his nephew Cornelius Claassen (Class of 1907), graduated from Haverford College.

It is a great story. Friends, especially, should make sure this book is in their reference libraries and is read by many individuals.

Swarthmore, Pennsylvania

J. PASSMORE ELKINTON

Briefer Notices

BY HENRY J. CADBURY

The American Philosophical Society has followed its earlier publication, *Historic Philadelphia*, with a new volume entitled *Historic Germantown* (Philadelphia, 1955, 154 pages, \$5.00). It consists of a brief history and a selective bibliography of the town by Harry and Margaret B. Tinkcom and a survey of its architecture by Grant Miles Simon. The "survey" includes floor plans, photographic illustrations, and brief descriptions of eighty-six old buildings, many of them having Quaker associations.

* * *

Gladys Scott Thomson has compiled mainly out of letters preserved in the family in England an account of Morris Birkbeck and his children entitled *A Pioneer Family: The Birkbecks in Illinois, 1818-1827* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1953, 128 pages). Morris Birkbeck the elder was a good deal of a Quaker bibliographer, living in Surrey. His son, the emigrant of 1817 of like name, is known for his early printed books, *Journey to Illinois* and *Letters from Illinois*. The letters here printed continue the family history into the Owenite colony of New Harmony and into Mexico. The family's Quakerism was not completely forgotten as members in America diverged into Anglicanism, Unitarianism, and Socialism.

* * *

Historic Nantucket has published in instalments selections from the Nantucket diary of Keziah Coffin, later Mrs. Phineas Fanning of Long Island, beginning with the issue of October 1953 (Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 13-14), and continued through October 1954 (Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 39-45). These selections are of special interest because they deal with the Revolutionary War period, January 1, 1775-April 19, 1779.

* * *

The ingenious hypothesis that the barn at Friends hostel at Jordans, England, includes the inverted hull of the Pilgrims' ship, the *Mayflower*, is presented as accepted fact in an illustrated article by Mabel Love in the *Christian Science Monitor* for February 24, 1955, p. 9.

* * *

"William Bartram, a Classical Scientist" is the title of an essay by Richard M. Gummere in the *Classical Journal*, 50 (1955), 167-170. There are no quotations from classical authors in Bartram's *Journal (Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, 1791)*, but the Quaker author had a better classical education than his father, and

echoes of classical situations lie easily to be detected here and there in his narratives as well as the use of commonplace classical terms and apostrophe after the manner affected by American writers of the period.

* * *

Elbridge A. Stuart, Founder of Carnation Company, by James Marshall (Los Angeles: Carnation Company, 1949, 238 pages) is the story of the typical American saga of struggle and ultimate business success of the founder of a firm that celebrated its half century in 1949. E. A. Stuart (1856-1944) recognized in his business methods and his philanthropy the inheritance he had from the Quakers. The Stuarts, like the Stanleys and Hadleys with whom his family intermarried, had long Quaker background in Guilford County, North Carolina, and previously in Ireland. In 1861 they migrated to Indiana and later to the West Coast, where the first Carnation milk was produced and where the expanding business was established.

* * *

A new and excellent study of ideas in England just before the rise of Quakerism is William Haller's *Liberty and Reformation in the Puritan Revolution* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955, 410 pages). It deals well with both the religious and the political ferment of about a decade ending in 1649 and is a sequel to the same writer's *The Rise of Puritanism* (1938).

* * *

A delightful essay—mostly with quoted examples—on *Rendel Harris as Letter Writer* by Herbert G. Wood was published in 1945 (by Woodbrooke Extension Committee, Woodbrooke, Birmingham 29, England, 30 pages). It is mentioned here because it was apparently overlooked in these notices ten years ago and because I have learned that it is available now without cost for individuals and libraries who wish to have copies.

* * *

The Story of Inazo and Mary P. Elkinton Nitobe was written by Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert and produced for private distribution by J. Passmore Elkinton (Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, 1955, 86 pages). It is an intimate and perceptive picture of two lives from very different backgrounds, based in part on intimate letters and reminiscences supplied by the family. More than half of the book deals with the years before they married in 1891 and it breaks off many years before the end, but it includes their sympathies in the Russo-Japanese war, the publication of Dr. Nitobe's much misused but famous book, *Bushido: The Soul of Japan*, and his service to agriculture in Formosa. For a more complete and more external record reference may be made to the *Life of Dr. Nitobe* (also in English) by Dr. S. Kitasawa, noticed in this BULLETIN, 43 (1954), 56.

* * *

Don Yoder has edited for *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, Vol. 5, No. 10 (January 15, 1954), pp. 5, 12, 13, 15, the diary of Joseph Wickersham,

York County Quaker, on "A Walking Tour Up the Juniata Valley in 1832." Their tour included the West Branch Quaker meeting in the Grampian Hills in Clearfield County, Pennsylvania.

* * *

Monroe Billington writes on "Susanna Madora Salter—First Woman Mayor" in *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, 21 (1954), 173-183. He describes Argonia, Kansas, where she was mayor, as "that little Quaker village." He says her parents were both of Quaker parentage, their ancestors having come to America from England with William Penn on the ship *Welcome*. An earlier account of "America's First Woman Mayor" is by Alfred H. Mitchell in *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, 53 (1944), 52-54.

* * *

Abel J. Evans contributes to the *Germantowne Crier*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (March 1955), pages 14, 15, 25, an article on "Chalkley Hall in Retrospect" in which he tells the story of Thomas Chalkley, the Friend who built the hall near Frankford in 1723. He continues with an account of Abel James and later descendants or occupants until the house was torn down at the end of 1954 by the commercial firm which came to own it.

* * *

Samuel D. Gayton contributed an article on "Quakertown, Past and Present" to *Historical Wyoming*, 8 (1955), 76-82. "Quakertown, or 'Quaker Settlement,' as originally known, took its name from several pioneers belonging to the Society of Friends, who came into the vicinity and started a religious society in the southeastern part of Orangeville [New York]. Formed around 1815 or 1816, it existed as an indulged meeting." There is given genealogical information on the early Quaker families.

* * *

Ruth Upson writes on "New Jerusalem and the Public Universal Friend (Jemima Wilkinson)" in *New York Folklore*, 11 (1955), 20-23. Jemima was a birthright Friend but was read out of meeting because of the doctrines she preached. Although her principles "were on the whole similar to the Quaker teachings, they differed in several ways. She observed Saturday as a holy day, but in order not to trespass on others' sabbath, she also observed Sunday. Then as her Society developed, she began more and more to adopt the rule of celibacy for her followers."

* * *

We may note another item on "Marcus Mote, Quaker Artist" by Hazel Spencer Phillips in *Museum Echoes*, 20 (1954), 11-14.

* * *

"A Civic-Minded and Literary Resident of Mid-Nineteenth Century Detroit: Eliza Seaman Leggett, New York 1815 - Michigan 1900" is the title of an article by Julia M. Hubbard in *Detroit Historical Society*

Bulletin, Vol. 11, No. 8 (May 1955), 4-8. She was a Quaker and an active humanitarian and built her home "upon the Quaker ideals of industry, sincerity, peace and harmony."

* * *

Paul Conklin is the author of an article on "The Church Establishment in North Carolina, 1765-1776" in *The North Carolina Historical Review*, 32 (1955), 1-30. The article deals with all denominations, and shows the strength of the Quakers, who of course opposed the establishment, at that time and area.

* * *

William Perry Johnson begins in instalments a study of the "Quaker Records of Indiana" in the *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*, 43 (1955), 5-11, with an historical introduction and a listing of the meetings of Indiana Yearly Meeting.

* * *

In the *Bedfordshire Magazine*, 4 (1954-55), 267-271, John C. Wagon writes a history of Quakerism in Bedfordshire in the seventeenth century under the title "Quaker Tercentenary." Among the illustrations is the reproduction of a painting of attenders at Earith meeting [ca. 1800?].

* * *

The eighth Arthur Stanley Eddington Memorial Lecture, *The Sources of Eddington's Philosophy* (Cambridge University Press, 1954, 64 pages) is a vigorous analysis by a fellow scientist of the extraordinary combination of supreme insight and genius and a perverse inversion of philosophical procedure. Eddington instantly understood relativity but his critical faculty was weak. One does not have to be a physicist to enjoy the analysis. The author is Herbert Dingle.

* * *

An article on an important precursor of Quakerism is Leo F. Solt's "John Saltmarsh: New Model Army Chaplain," in the *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 2 (1951) 69-80. It deals with the relation between his ideas of political liberty and his religious heterodoxy in supposing that Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, and Seekers had each of them some fragments of truth.

* * *

"The Early Life of William Simpson," surveyor, is written by Gertrude Parker Kirk and Louisa Warner Starbuck and published in *Now and Then*, quarterly magazine of Muncy (Pennsylvania) Historical Society, 10 (1951), 17-22. The subject (1756-1804) was in Ireland in 1796, settling an estate, but in America lived as a Friend at Abington and later at Muncy.

Elizabeth Whitacre contributed to *Now and Then*, 11 (1955), 68-71, 102-103, an account of Job Packer, who moved, about 1801, with his wife Hannah and nine children from Kennett Monthly Meeting to settle on his farm at Bald Eagle Creek. In 1812 he married Elizabeth Harris of Lycoming County and about 1818 moved to Pennsdale. He kept a store and a tavern and had a pottery. The article has numerous details and stories about one who was evidently a rather eccentric Friend. Cf. *ibid.*, 10 (1952), 121-125.

* * *

Nancy Morris Wood published under the title "Wolf Run and Mount Equity" in *Now and Then*, 9 (1948), 25-33, an account of the descent and descendants of William Ellis and his wife Mercy Cox, who lived at Pennsdale about a century and a half ago.

* * *

The *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, 38 (1955), 5-20, has a readable general article by Rachel McMasters Miller Hunt on "William Penn and Pennsbury Manor of Bucks County, Pennsylvania." Minor errors abound, but perhaps the major impression is accurate, including what is said of the Manor itself.

* * *

A careful study of "The Quaker Background and Science in Colonial Philadelphia" by Brooke Hindle is published in *Isis*, 46 (1955), 243-250. He aims to discover how far Quaker influence was responsible for the founding both of the present American Philosophical Society in 1769, the oldest learned society in America, and of its predecessors in Philadelphia, and why Quakerism had this effect. He believes the influence was stronger at the periphery than at the center of Quakerism, though the financial backing came largely from loyal Quaker merchants. "It was a group of liberal Quakers, former Quakers and near-Quakers who bore a large portion of the responsibility for the encouragement and advancement of science in colonial Philadelphia." The noteworthy names include John Bartram, Dr. Thomas Bond, James Logan, and David Rittenhouse.

* * *

The newest Quaker anthology we have seen is an attractive thin book, bound in boards, published by the Friends Home Service Committee (London, 1951, 40 pages), and called *The Hidden Life: Extracts from the Writings of Isaac Pennington*, selected by Robert Davis. A brief memoir is followed by a hundred short passages, arranged under these headings: spiritual experience, the Light, Christ, worship, witness, and unity.

* * *

A centennial history of *Greene Street Friends School, 1855-1955* (printed for the school, 116 pages, illustrated) is a welcome addition to the growing literature on Quaker education. Written by R. Bruce Jones, the

present clerk of the School Committee of Greene Street Monthly Meeting, it gives throughout the century both background and inner development of the school in a very readable narrative.

* * *

The Travels of William Bartram, as edited by Mark Van Doren and published by Macy-Masius in 1928 (reviewed in the BULLETIN, 17:95), is now exactly reprinted in both a cloth-bound and a cheaper paper edition by Dover Publications, Inc. (New York, 1955, 414 pages.) The reprint adds reproductions of the title pages and of the author's thirteen drawings from the original edition.

* * *

Random House, New York, has published within the last few years a series of no less than fifty juveniles entitled Landmark Books. They deal with persons and events mainly of American history. They are of uniform size, illustrated with two-color cuts, and supplied with indexes. Two are about ex-Quakeresses, both written by Jane Meyer, viz., *Betsy Ross and the Flag* (1952) and *Dolly Madison* (1954).

* * *

Bryan Little's *The City and County of Bristol, A Study in Atlantic Civilization* (London: Werner Laurie, 1954, 399 pages) is a very compact study in which the part of Friends in the trade, manufactures, culture, and philanthropy of this important seat of Quakerism is dealt with. It may be mentioned here as useful, though a fuller study of Bristol Quakerism may be hoped for as a book to replace William Tanner's, which was published in 1858.

* * *

William Perry Johnson contributes to *The North Carolinian*, 1 (1955), 100-102, an account of "Some of Thomas Wolfe's Quaker Connections." This modern Carolina novelist (1900-1938) was descended from William Wierman, a Dutch Mennonite, who settled in Germantown, Pennsylvania, as early as 1717, but moved into what is now Adams County in the same state, and joined the Quakers. Some of his other descendants are traced.

* * *

The article "What is a Quaker" by Richmond P. Miller, mentioned in this BULLETIN, 43:52, with other articles on other groups also published in *Look*, is now reprinted on pp. 121-132 of *A Guide to Religions of America*, ed. Leo Rosten (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1955, 282 pages). A brief introductory note now makes clear that this article speaks only of the non-pastoral type of Quakerism. A great deal of statistical information is collected at the end of the volume giving (page 216) the membership of each Yearly Meeting in America in 1953.

"Rowland Evans Robinson, Realist of the Outdoors" is a literary appraisal of the stories of this author, little known today, written by Terence Martin and published in *Vermont History*, 23 (1955), 3-15. Robinson (1833-1900) was of Quaker parentage and lived in the old Quaker community in which he was born at Ferrisburg, Vermont. The critic speaks of "his Vermont and Quaker background," or "his diluted Quaker background." "Superstitions, prejudices and the cramped morality of the Quakers also pervade Robinson's tales."

* * *

Maurice A. Mook writes on "A Christian Classic for Children and their Parents" in *Christian Living* for September, 1955, pp. 16-17. The classic is *Black Beauty*, and its author, Anna Sewall, was born a Friend and was buried in the Quaker burying ground near Buxton, Norfolk. She is said to have used the plain language even in speaking to animals.

* * *

Elizabeth Yates has written a moving story of the early effort of a Connecticut Quakeress to give education higher than common school to Negro girls. It is somewhat fictionized and is evidently based in large part on the carefully documented article in this BULLETIN, 33: 35-55 by A. T. Child, Jr. The book is entitled *Prudence Crandall, Woman of Courage* (New York: Aladdin Books, 1955, 246 pages).

* * *

Bessie Raymond Buxton contributed to *The Essex Institute Historical Collections*, 91 (1955), 80-91, "The Day Book of Henry Buxton, the Buckle Maker." Henry Buxton (1740-1828) was a Friend of Salem, Massachusetts, and his wife, Elinor Osborn, was a descendant of Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick. The accounts with his customers quoted are for the years 1761-1775 and 1784-1800.

* * *

Rarely does so much new information appear about a Friend mentioned in George Fox's *Journal* as in the article on "John Edmondson—Large Merchant of Tred Haven Creek" by Frank B. Edmundson and Emerson B. Roberts in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 50 (1955), 219-233. His English background and his relationship, if any, to the well-known William Edmondson (who also had a brother John) are not known. William, who was not his brother, was from Westmorland, but settled in Ireland and visited America. This John appears in Maryland, first in Calvert County (1658), and then in Talbot (1663). He is mentioned frequently in the public records, "more frequently than any other private citizen," buying and selling many tracts of land and involved in litigation in several counties of Maryland and of Delaware (then Pennsylvania). He was a founder of Third Haven Meeting, meetinghouse, and

school library. He had ten children and died in 1697 or 1698. The article tells of the children and briefly of some of their descendants, one of whom is the present Duchess of Windsor.

* * *

Upper Greenwich Meeting now held at Mickleton, New Jersey, is the subject of a brief account (with a picture of the meetinghouse) in the *Bulletin* of the Gloucester County Historical Society, 4 (1955), 25.

* * *

Relying mainly on the manuscript diary of Marcus Mote, the Quaker artist, and on newspapers of Lebanon, Ohio, and Richmond, Indiana, Opal Thornburg writes on the dilemma, "Muskets or Muster Fines—Ohio and Indiana Quakers and the Civil War," in the *Bulletin* of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, 13 (1955), 173-180.

* * *

Horace Mather Lippincott contributes the opening article to *Ger-mantowne Crier*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (December 1955), 7-9, on "Quaker Meeting Houses." It aims to relate to Quaker principles and to the character of the colonial settlers the style of their local houses for worship.

* * *

The Ward Lecture again serves the useful purpose of presenting competently a survey of a phase of historic Quakerism. The author is Elizabeth Gray Vining, the subject "Women in the Society of Friends" (Guilford College, North Carolina, 1955, 23 pages). The pamphlet discusses not only what women have done for the Society of Friends through their participation in church affairs, the ministry, etc., but also what effect Quakerism has had on its women.

* * *

Another contribution from her studies of Marcus Mote, whose journal is in the Earlham College Library, is published by Opal Thornburg in *The Indiana Magazine of History*, 51 (1955), 323-334, under the title "Marcus Mote and his Pioneer School of Design." Not only did this early Quaker artist train in drawing and painting private pupils who came to him, but he agitated for public education to include these subjects. He lived to see art introduced into the curriculum at Earlham College and into the public schools of Richmond and of Indiana.

* * *

"The Whitall Family of Red Bank [New Jersey]" (*Bulletin* of Gloucester County Historical Society, 4 [1954], 9-10) was a Quaker family living there from the time of its settlement. The Old Whitall Mansion (illustrated) was built by James Whitall in 1748. His wife Ann (Cooper) Whitall described in a diary the local battle of October 22, 1777.

Jeremiah Holmes Wiffen and Benjamin Barron Wiffen, Quaker scholars, poets and translators, are discussed by John Lea under the title "Two Notable Brothers" in *Bedfordshire Magazine*, 5 (1955), 15-20.

* * *

The *Bulletin* of Gloucester County Historical Society, 4 (1954), 24, publishes a brief account, signed "E. A. J., 1947", giving the "Genealogy of Some of the Members of Mullica Hill Monthly Meeting." This appears in turn to be derived from a memorandum by John Pancoast, whose father helped organize the meeting in 1797. Older immigrant family names represented include Borton, Heritage, Lippincott, Ogden, Iredell, Stokes, Crispin, Collins, Allen and others. Compare "Jones-Allen Ancestry" (*ibid.*, 1 [1948], 10) and "Backgrounds of Mullica Hill" (*ibid.*, 4 [1955], 27).

* * *

Dr. Floyd Reed, writing about "A Greeley Incident" in the *Westchester Historian*, 31 (1955), 107-108, tells how a Quaker named Quimby saved the house of Horace Greeley in Chappaqua from destruction during the 1863 anti-draft riots.

* * *

The *Bulletin* of the Gloucester County Historical Society includes in its first volumes several items of Quaker interest beside those separately listed herewith, such as "Samuel Burrough" (2 [1950], 12), a poor Friend of Chester, who received one of the Byllinge grants of free land in 1682; "John Cooper (1729-1785)," Quaker and patriot (2 [1950], 16); "Marriage License of Betsy Ross," (3 [1951], 5, illustrated) and "Restore Lippincott (1721-1773)" (5 [1955], 12, illustrated).

* * *

One of the by-products of the current biographical research by Frederick B. Tolles is his article in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 79 (1955), 415-438, on "Quaker Humanist: James Logan as a Classical Scholar." Logan's owning, reading, quoting, and translating of classical authors are all dealt with, but especially full is the summary of the books of classics in the catalogue of his library and the discussion of his translation of Cato's *Distichs* and of Cicero's *De Senectute*. Logan also composed poetry in Latin and Greek.

* * *

John M. Coleman writes in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 79 (1955), 439-451, on "The Treason of Ralph Morden and Robert Land." Morden, a Quaker resident of Northampton County, Pennsylvania, was accused, convicted, and executed at Easton in 1780 for helping Land, a messenger for the British forces, to escape when caught by the patriots. He was thus one of four persons hanged for treason in the state of Pennsylvania during the Revolution. Two of the others were also Quakers.

Articles In Quaker Periodicals

BY LYMAN W. RILEY

University of Pennsylvania Library

The American Friend

"A Century and a Half at West Elkton" speaks of the sesquicentennial of Elk Monthly Meeting in Indiana. Philip Johnson gives a digest of the Meeting history as written by A. T. Maddock.—Sept. 8, 1955, pp. 286-287.

The Friend (London)

Opal Thornburg, in "When Joseph John Visited Indiana Y.M.," writes entertainingly of Joseph John Gurney's travels in America in 1837. Included are a sketch of Gurney and one of Indiana Yearly Meeting in 1844, both by Marcus Mote, contemporary Quaker artist—March 25, 1955, pp. 297-300.

Maurice J. Wigham writes "A Letter from Ireland" commenting on three old Quaker businesses, in particular that of Jonathan Pim (d. 1885) in Dublin.—April 1, 1955, pp. 334-335.

Another illustrated article on English Friends in America by Opal Thornburg is "Quaker Visitants to Richmond (Indiana) in 1844-45." She relates amusing and revealing stories about John Pease, William and Josiah Forster, George Stacey, and John Allen.—April 22, 1955, pp. 394-396.

To a special issue on "Friends and Mental Nursing" Marjorie Garrod contributes an article on the history of The Retreat, a mental institution founded largely through the efforts of William Tuke; "The Story Unfolds: 1796 to 1955."—April 29, 1955, pp. 423-425.

Five brief articles entitled "Diversities of Gifts" reproduce Ormerod Greenwood's B.B.C. talks of May 1955. In them he tells something of the significant qualities in the lives of John Roberts, Pierre Ceresole, William and Esther Tuke, Stephen Grellet, Hannah Whitall Smith, and John Wilhelm Rowntree.—July 1, 1955, pp. 669-670; July 8, 1955, pp. 691-692; July 15, 1955, pp. 709-710; July 22, 1955, pp. 727-728; July 29, 1955, pp. 747-748; August 5, 1955, pp. 767-768.

An article called "Stephen Grellet, 1773-1855" is an "impression of his life" and is written by L. Hugh Doncaster.—Nov. 18, 1955, pp. 1086-1088.

Friends Journal

Letter from the Past No. 152 is called "Merging Traffic," referring to the union of the two Philadelphia Yearly Meetings in 1955. "Now & Then" mentions earlier momentous decisions by a united Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.—July 16, 1955, pp. 40-41.

In "Western Exploration and Quaker Naturalists" Edward P. Thatcher gives considerable information about the nineteenth-century scientists Thomas Say, entomologist and apothecary, who accompanied the Long expedition of 1819-1820; John K. Townsend, ornithologist, who traveled with a private expedition in 1834; and John Cassin, ornithologist, who as a museum scientist classified the specimens gathered by the United States expeditions of 1838-1842 and 1856.—Sept. 10, 1955, pp. 164-166.

"Susan B. Anthony, Quaker," honored in 1955 by a United States stamp representing her, is also the subject of Letter from the Past No. 153, wherein is related a delightful anecdote concerning both her naiveté and wit.—Sept. 10, 1955, pp. 167-168.

The article "Lucretia Mott—Quaker Saint or Heretic?" by Albert C. Schreiner reviews her religious beliefs and concludes that "in Lucretia Mott" saint and heretic "came very close to being one."—Sept. 17, 1955, pp. 183-184.

"Early Years of Arch Street Meeting House" by Edwin B. Bronner is adapted from his paper delivered before the Friends Historical Association, November, 1954.—Sept. 24, 1955, pp. 199-201.

Elwood Cronk, in "Judgment Day in Breeches," relates some incidents from the life of Benjamin Lay.—Oct. 8, 1955, pp. 229-230.

Letter from the Past No. 154, "John Woolman's Testamentary Experiences," comments on one of Woolman's common tasks, writing and witnessing wills. It was in connection with wills involving slaves that Woolman made public testimony against slavery.—Oct. 29, 1955, pp. 274, 282.

Mary S. Patterson offers a rather extensive illustrated article on Quaker meetinghouses; she calls it "Housing for the Quaker Spirit."—Nov. 5, 1955, pp. 299-302.

A piece of paper with words in George Fox's hand is called "A George Fox Puzzle," for it is only a fragment of a larger document; Frederick B. Tolles publishes it with notes on its provenience.—Nov. 12, 1955, p. 312.

Howard Hayes provides a note on the attitude of an American poet toward a Quaker minister in "Walt Whitman and Elias Hicks."—Nov. 26, 1955, pp. 348-349.

The Friends' Quarterly

In "Robert Southey and Quakerism" Geoffrey Carnall ably describes the poet's rather complex attitude toward Quakerism. Southey admired

Quaker morality and lack of creed but felt that the Established Church, in spite of its unenlightened orthodoxy, was essential to the stability of society. — Jan., 1955, pp. 31-40.

In "The Bull and Mouth Meeting House, its Site and Environs," George W. Edwards gives a great deal of information about this house, already an old and storied building in 1655, when Friends rented it as their first meetinghouse.—April, 1955, pp. 78-84.

Evelyn Southall Whiting, by well-chosen extracts from the "Journal of Elizabeth Trusted," reveals an astonishingly intimate picture of this Quaker girl of Herefordshire during the 1820's. We learn of her deep religious feelings, her daily social activities, her leading part in establishing a free school for the poor, her reading, and even her strained relations with mother and sister.—July, 1955, pp. 108-119.

According to John Melling, "Matthew Green (1696-1737), Minor Poet and Quaker Manqué" had his life radically changed by reading Robert Barclay's *Apology*. His first worthwhile poem was one on the *Apology* and, while he never became a Quaker nor even followed Quaker ways, evidence is presented that he saw Quakerism as posing an unanswerable but extremely disturbing and stimulating question to men of a corrupt age.—July, 1955, pp. 136-144.

Joseph Pickvance thinks George Fox was "A Man of Vital Religion" and finds sources for his vitality in the Puritan tradition of his early home, his familiarity with the Bible and, more than mere "study," his "agonising" over the doctrine of God's dealings with man.—Oct., 1955, pp. 146-152.

Howard Diamond writes a brief article on "Our Little Princess," who was Jane Stuart, natural daughter of James II of England and member of Wisbech Meeting for over fifty years.—Oct., 1955, pp. 170-171.

Journal of the Friends' Historical Society

"The Settlement of Church Discipline among Irish Friends," by Isabel Grubb, has special reference to a trip by George Fox to Ireland in 1669, either to establish local meetings for discipline or, more probably, "for the purpose of tightening up the discipline" already established by Irish Friends. Isabel Grubb suggests, on the basis of the scanty evidence available, Fox's probable itinerary.—45 (1953), 75-80.

Russell S. Mortimer presents much information on "Bristol Quaker Merchants," derived from the records of the merchants themselves, of government, and of Friends. He discusses overseas trade, convoys and embargoes, apprenticeship, and emigration to America.—45 (1953), 81-91.

Under title "A Frenchman Looks at Rhode Island Quakers, 1801" there is printed, in translation, an account by Louis Ange Pitou, taken from a book of his travels published in Paris in 1805. It is accurate and sympathetic.—45 (1953), 92-94.